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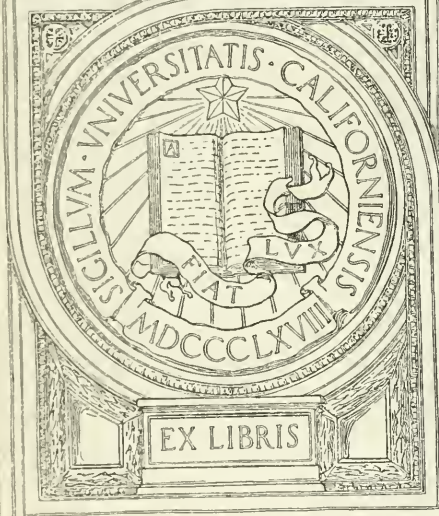

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VOL. XIV.

KEIM'S HISTORY

OF

JESUS OF NAZARA.

VOL. III.

THE HISTORY

OF

JESUS OF NAZARA,

FREELY INVESTIGATED

IN ITS CONNECTION WITH THE NATIONAL LIFE OF ISRAEL,

AND RELATED IN DETAIL.

BY

DR. THEODOR KEIM.

TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR RANSOM.

VOL. III.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE v

INTRODUCTION 1

THE GALILEAN SPRING-TIME 10

I.—THE FIRST PREACHING 12

A. The Initial Sermon 12
B. The Watchword of Jesus 39
C. The Kingdom of Heaven 48
D. The Repentance that admits to the Kingdom of Heaven 92
E. The Method of Jesus 122
F. The Localities in which Jesus preached . . 134

II.—THE WORKS OF JESUS 152

A. Critical Difficulties 155
B. The Fundamental Facts 170
C. The Order and the Beginning of the Works of Healing 197
D. The Healing of the Possessed . . . 226

III.—THE DISCIPLES, AND JESUS' LIFE AND TEACHING AMONG THEM 250

A. The Calling of the Disciples . . . 250
B. The Sermon on the Mount . . . 281
C. The Private Life of Jesus 335

255425

PAGE

IV.—Successful Results and Apostolic Mission . 350

A. The Belief of the People and the Opposition of the Teachers 350

B. The Election of the Twelve 369

C. The Mission of the Twelve 393

PREFACE TO THE SECOND (GERMAN) VOLUME.

I OWE the reader solid productions, rather than long prefaces. The promise made in the first volume, to issue the remainder of the work in small portions as rapidly as possible, has not, strictly speaking, been broken; yet I did not anticipate a three years' delay. I can, therefore, fully understand the many friendly inquiries which have been made, as well as G. Rösch's Catilinarian *Quousque tandem* in the *Studien*. But the labour proved to be much greater than I had expected, and far exceeded my time and strength, much of which was consumed by my treatises on Chronology, the Herods, the death of Jesus, and John the Presbyter, which formed the peaceful retinue or defensive escort of the first volume. Moreover, it soon became apparent that the atomic character of the material and the views made it impossible to carry on the work satisfactorily without renouncing the plan of issuing it in fragments before the whole had been prepared. The necessary point of preparedness is now arrived at, and the responsibility at present lies with the printer. A second confession must here be made. Another reason why the work has taken three years is, that the "solid productions" could not be compressed into two volumes. The Galilean year of teaching has filled one volume; the Jerusalemitic journey and the history of the passion, with their momentous questions

and archæological riches, will require a third. The printing is so arranged that the whole shall be presented to the public in four divisions of from eighteen to twenty sheets each, issued at short intervals: of these divisions, the first two—the Galilean Springtime and the Galilean Storms—are partly ready and partly in preparation.

I believe I have remained faithful to my promise to investigate freely and to narrate fully, and on this very account it has been necessary to increase the size of the book. I neither was willing nor did I dare to give mere empty results, as it is now everywhere the fashion to do, at the expense of thoroughness and trustworthiness. This history is too important for either the writer or the reader to neglect for a moment the inquiry after, and the clear and intelligible establishment of, the truth. Hence the painstaking earnestness with which the copious annotations have been multiplied; hence also the juxtaposition of the analytical and the historical-constructive methods in the text itself. While here and there complaints have been made that the first volume was too much occupied with investigation, that it led the impatient reader like Israel through the wilderness,—on the other hand, even laymen—not merely theologians—whom I believe capable of forming a correct judgment, have requested me to continue in the same manner, since it enables them to arrive at an independent opinion of their own. When firm ground is once to some extent secured, much of the laborious preparatory work can be dispensed with, and the simple, concise, transparent historical truth can be exhibited alone. No change will be found in my critical and historical principles and conclusions. With reference to the critical and historical question, the radical school of criticism has recently exhibited an arrogant attitude towards me; and after ten years' practice in remaining silent, I *must*

now, for the sake of the cause, speak out. "After the melancholy issue of the latest attempts to compose a life of Jesus," Volkmar imagines that in his *Evangelien* (1870) he has attained "a positively certain" result, "a positively certain" though very brief life of Jesus. But though this book claims to be a bold and decisive advance upon its predecessors, it does in truth, with its fresh resolution of the life of Jesus into a variegated play of symbols and allegories not dreamt of by even Origen and Bonaventura, represent merely a great anachronism in the face of the progress made by this science during the last thirty years. Scarcely anywhere can we find more that is arbitrary and uncertain, more frequent repetitions of the chilling "perhaps" and "possibly," of the restless "but," terms so calculated to rob the reader of comfort and trust, in a word, more that is unsubstantial and unsatisfying, than in this book, whose chief strength lies in its rigid consistency, and in the proof it affords that rash criticism is as dangerous as dogmatism. Unfortunately, I shall be compelled to devote many notes to the special provocations offered by the statements and omissions of this book; though I am convinced that its conclusions, and its poetical Mark sobered down by weak and prosaic successors, as Matthew and Luke are said to be, are no longer really dangerous opponents. The difference of opinion between Ewald and myself, not only as to the Gospels, but also as to the name Nazara, still continues: I am not in a position to sacrifice to the discoverer of an incomparably more important, buried name—to which he himself refers—the name the explanation of which he himself justifies. The sermon of the prophet in his own home will afford an opportunity of looking at this subject again. I might make some alteration in the dogmatic representations of the first volume—which, however, do not belong to my province—but

the concluding passages of my work will afford me an opportunity of doing this.

My expectation that the book would bring upon me many bitter reproaches, has been in several ways fulfilled. Of the loss of temporal favour, I witnessed a choice instance in the same year; while the cuts and thrusts of criticism have not been wanting. On the one hand, the *Erlanger Zeitschrift*, and in it the indefatigable Hofmann, has contended that the miraculous conception, so evidently the main point, is still, like Peter, throned upon a rock. I have found the evidence weak, and the tone undignified. On the other hand, the opposite party have sought to prove that they are superior not only to affection and good manners, but also to knowledge and truth. But I wrote neither in their interest nor in my own; I wrote in the service of history and to the honour of the Lord—that is, of Him who is historical. Such assailants will also cause me no pain in the future, and I shall assume towards them an attitude of increased indifference. At the same time, I should be guilty of concealing the truth if I were unwilling to acknowledge that I have derived much encouragement from a far larger number of friendly criticisms, both favourable and unfavourable. I would here gratefully mention names representative of the most diverse theological tendencies—Distelbarth, Ewald, Feuerlein, Hausrath, Heer, H. Hirzel, Kesselring, Krauss, Langhans, A. Schäffer, A. Schweizer, C. Schwarz, Seydel, Tholuck, Weizsäcker, Ziegler. I can scarcely now recall all the writers; and the names of the anonymous critics in foreign publications have seldom reached me.

May God grant to the truth of the Gospel a sure, vigorous, triumphant resurrection! May He make manifest, above the weaknesses and infirmities of the workman, the pure and perfect truth! After the tumult of war, in the midst of which we at

present stand, missing more sadly and indignantly than ever the fruits of Christianity, may God open the eternal reign of the blessings of the life of Jesus—peace on earth, brotherly love, and human nobleness! And if I may breathe into these lines one other wish out of the depths of my heart, it is this: May the German nation, at this moment standing forth so solemnly, so enthusiastically, so determinedly, as the armed champion of God fighting for the highest good of mankind, for right, virtue, and truth, for the culture that is pure against that which is meretricious—may she be permitted to fulfil her destiny, to attain in every intellectual province as well as in the religious, *the real, liberty-giving truth*, instead of the half-truths which both impart and take away blessing, and which the crafty defenders of the past are still forcing upon her! While old, dead worlds are setting, her proud mission is to be the apostle of progress, no longer merely in the canonics of battles, or of national right, or of political economy, but also in the religion of Jesus, the religion of humility, of freedom, of humanity. And should the two nations, in the future, emulate each other in such a contest, then the fall of tens of thousands will be—to borrow an expression of Paul's (Rom. xi. 12)—the riches of the world and life from the dead.

TH. KEIM.

Zurich, August, 1870.

INTRODUCTION.

THE stations of the teaching-year of Jesus—a period brief when reckoned by its days, but infinite when estimated by its achievements—are plainly marked out. We see the happy blossoming-time in Galilee; then an increasingly portentous series of Galilean struggles; and, finally, the decisive journey to Jerusalem, voluntarily undertaken and carried out with heroic courage.[1] This order of development is presented to us by the Gospels themselves, and most perceptibly by the first Gospel, which, in violent contrasts and with inflexible consistency, exhibits the sudden bursting forth of those tragical and endless struggles of Jesus from the very bosom of a good and hopeful spring-time of teaching, and their inevitable issue in the death at Jerusalem; while the other sources colour the beginning more or less with the soberer and darker tints of the end, and thus more or less tone down or overlook the turning-point in the middle.[2] This three-fold division lies more in the material than

[1] Among recent writers, Weizsäcker, in spite of his preference for John, has adopted this division, pp. 331 sq. Pressensé, pp. 387, 388. Weizsäcker: (1) the earlier working in Galilee; (2) the later Galilean period; (3) the Jerusalemitic period. Hase also (pp. 95, 182, 212) gives the three periods: (1) the acceptable year of the Lord; (2) the year of struggle; (3) passion and glorification. Many recent writers give the life of Jesus, as Paulus and Ammon did formerly, variously in a mere series of co-ordinated sections; comp. Schleiermacher, Renan, Strauss. Renan has, like Matthew, twenty-eight chapters.

[2] Matt. iv.—x. shows the beginnings, xi.—xvi. the struggles. In xvi. 21, the narrative passes on to the stage of the passion. Luke exhibits, in iv. 16—30, and particularly in the four conflicts of v. 17—vi. 11, the struggles as taking place at the very beginning; Mark does the same, ii. 1—iii. 6. On the other hand, the great turning-point is completely obliterated by both. See Vol. I. pp. 102, 119 sq.

in the form of our Gospels, which, in a remarkable manner—an evidence of the literary and spiritual elevation on which this primitive historiography already stands—have all passed in one way or another from the three-fold to a two-fold division that, looking beyond the more minute local, temporal, actual stages of this life, seeks to strike, as it were, the vital nerve of its activity in the very centre. In Matthew, the great turning-point of the Galilean activity of Jesus lies in the determination to suffer, which Jesus formed in the remotest northern part of Galilee, and which he afterwards carried out in the south, in Jerusalem. In Mark, it lies in the same district, in Jesus' double Messianic confession—through the cross to glory. In Luke, it is found a step later, at the commencement of the solemn journey of death from Galilee to Jerusalem. In John, it is found later still, in the Jerusalemitic transition from the glory of Jesus' life to the glory of his death.[1] All these representations and divisions are in truth evidently governed by the same fundamental thought, namely, the clear and distinct exhibition of the significant dividing-line between life and death in this Messianic career; but the conception of Matthew and Mark is plainly the most profound, since it places the great turning-point in the first thought of Jesus, and does not postpone it, as do Luke and John, until the thought is carried into execution.

The question may suggest itself, whether the written history of the teaching-year of Jesus ought simply to abide by this ancient and venerable division. There is no force in the doubt which Holsten in particular has recently made current by the revival of the old objections of the Platonist Celsus: as if the predictions of the passion and the so intentionally strong emphasizing of those predictions belonged, not to history, but to dogmatics, to the desire and the invention of the Evangelists, who were kicking against the pricks of the incomprehensible death of the Messiah. For this is an arbitrary assumption, con-

[1] Matt. xvi. 21, comp. iv. 17; Mark viii. 27—31; Luke ix. 51; John xiii. 1. Comp. Vol. I. pp. 71 sqq., 102, 156.

tradicted by facts.[1] Jesus was actually persecuted; in the persecution, he resolved to submit to death; and in this resolve to die—which did not haunt him merely in his last hours—he rose solemnly to the highest point of his Messianic conception, of his Messianic working. So far we might abide by the ancient pragmatism. And we abide by it, with one allowable deviation. This resolve to die is not merely—as the Gospels chiefly represent it—the starting-point of a new series of developments; it is, above all, the terminus, the ripe fruit of the Galilean struggles that those authors have themselves described; and it is impossible for us to isolate cause and effect. If we regard the Galilean struggles, including the resolve to die, as the second part, then the carrying out of that resolve, the journey to Jerusalem and the Jerusalemitic catastrophe—which Luke and John have exhibited as the second great epoch, and Matthew and Mark have emphatically introduced as at least the second division of the second great epoch dated from the north of Galilee—must be regarded as an independent third part.[2]

But the Gospels give rise to considerable perplexity by their tendency to make divisions. It behoves us to acknowledge this once for all, and as far as possible to dispose of the difficulty. The sources give, namely, not only the great fundamental division, they give also subdivisions, subsections, even diurnal records. But these subordinate divisions are altogether different in the earlier Gospels from what they are in the later ones; and in the former they are also—at least as to the greater part of the Galilean period—multiform, contradictory, and, even when they harmonize, not always trustworthy. We find the commencement of the ministry, the choosing of the Apostles, the mission of the disciples, the teaching by parables, the disputation concerning the commandments, in epoch-making, leading positions;

[1] Holsten, *Zum Evangelium d. Petrus u. d. Paulus*, 1868, pp. 152 sqq. Origen, *Con. Cel.* 2, 13 sqq. Comp., on the other hand, my remarks in the *Prot. K.-Z.* 1868, No. 8. Further details when speaking of Cæsarea.

[2] Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1. Their first subdivision is the Galilean conclusion, Matt. xvi.—xviii.

and we find again, in these different subdivisions, diurnal series of sayings, and particularly of actions.[1] But there is nowhere a satisfactory harmony in the order of events; and at the same time we discover—at first not without concern—that neither in great things nor in small is it so easy as it is found, however, to be by the modern partizans of the second or the fourth Gospel, to give preference to one source over another, since, notwithstanding the most sincere intention of restoring the actual course of the history—an intention with which every Evangelist is to be credited, and which Luke has even avowed—this scattered material has been necessarily differently arranged, the arrangement having been regulated only by the writer's preference and supposition, by the calculation of probability and by artificial juxtaposition.[2] Thus, for example, it is equally improbable that the ministry of Jesus opened, as Matthew says it did, with a great Sermon on the Mount and a cycle of great deeds, as that it opened with Luke and Mark's series of conflicts with Judaism and Pharisaism, together with a smaller but yet copious series of miracles. In the former, we have the Jewish-Christian view of Christianity; in the latter, the freer Gentile-favouring view; the former requiring on the first public appearance of Jesus an explanation of his attitude towards the Law, and the latter, an early breaking through the national limitations. The several series of actions, which with tolerable uniformity, though differ-

[1] Comp. the analysis of the Gospels and the table of the Gospels, in Vol. I. For the diurnal series, see especially Matt. viii. 1 sqq.; Luke iv. 31 sqq.; Mark i. 16 sqq. Luke has the advantage of a looser sequence, iv. 31, 33, v. 1, 12, 17, vi. 1, 6, 12, &c. Mark also, throughout his book, loosely connects events by numberless—about 80—*ands;* yet at the very beginning, in chap. i., he bursts upon us with a number of immediate chronological sequences (εὐθέως).

[2] Whilst recently many have thought themselves able to restore even to the very day the chronological order, according to Mark (or John)—comp. Schenkel, Hausrath, Holtzmann—Schleiermacher was unprejudiced enough to deny the possibility of doing this even in the case of his favourite John, on account of the "tendency" which existed in that Gospel (*Leben J.* 168). Comp. generally the critical introduction to the Synoptics in Vol. I. especially pp. 112, 113; or merely the single example of the embassy from John (Luke vii. 18), and the answer of Jesus, that "the dead are raised up," immediately following the narrative of the dying servant of the centurion, and the bier of the young man of Nain.

ences of detail, are exhibited by all these Gospels, bring into view another very influential law of this ancient historiography: the law of material relationship. The Gospels themselves and, according to plain evidences, their sources before them, have variously introduced into the confusion of the scattered material the arrangement most helpful to the memory and best capable of producing an impression, and in this way have brought together allied sayings and allied narratives.[1] Hence the groups of doctrinal sayings, of controversial sayings, of Sabbath conflicts, of miracles small and great. Naturally, the distinction between the earlier and the later Galilean periods was not strictly maintained; and even the distinction between the Galilean and the Jerusalemitic periods was to some extent—less in the actions than in the sayings—broken down.[2] This arrangement of the material is, in all cases, a source of perplexity to the modern historian. If it be consistently carried out, then it gives rise to no deception as to the chronology; but it thus lays the restoration of the chronology as a heavy and even impossible task upon the shoulders of posterity. If it be inconsistently carried out, if it alternate with a chronological arrangement, or if it profess itself to be a chronological arrangement, then it creates for itself and posterity an endless and mischievous confusion. And this mischievous confusion exists in the Gospels. They possess both modes of arrangement, and have to a great extent—Matthew most of all—treated the arrangement according to matter as an arrangement according to time. Jesus gave missionary instructions to his disciples at different times, but they are all brought together into connection with the missionary effort in Galilee; he often spoke in parables, but seven parabolical addresses are

[1] In the sources of our Gospels there already stood together the now everywhere connected narratives of the paralytic, of the publicans, and of fasting; two Sabbath controversies; the storm and the Gadarenes; Jairus and the woman with the issue of blood.

[2] Thus it is certain that many passages in the Sermon on the Mount and the mission speech (Matt. v.—vii. x.) can belong only to the last times of Jesus, and Luke and Mark have placed many things later, especially in the Jerusalemitic eschatological address. Upon this point, the later divisions of this work must be referred to.

crowded together into one day.[1] He disputed with the scribes concerning Beelzebub and concerning signs from heaven; he engaged in controversy as to despising the publicans and as to the sanctity of fasting: it is made to appear that one of these controversies immediately followed the other.[2] He twice profaned the Sabbath, according to the opinions of the Scribes, by allowing his disciples to pluck the ears of corn, and by healing the man with a withered hand: we are told that he went directly from the corn-field into the synagogue in order to heal the man.[3] He often wrought miracles; but miracle after miracle is crowded into one or two days, another sick man coming as soon as the former one goes away healed, while other days are without miracles, or are not mentioned at all.[4] In this respect, Luke and Mark sometimes agree with Matthew, and sometimes do not. But even in Luke and Mark there is repeatedly a fourfold sequence—four miracles and four greater miracles, four controversies and four exhibitions of weakness on the part of the disciples.[5] With few exceptions, the order of events up to the solemn Galilean turning-point in the career of Jesus, when occurrences become more definite and characteristic, is open to question.[6]

In this fatal condition of things, several prominent authors on both sides—Schleiermacher on the one hand, Strauss on the other, neither of them without followers—have felt compelled to refrain from attempting to construct a history of the ministry of Jesus with a chronological development, the Jerusalemitic catastrophe excepted; and to content themselves with simply placing

[1] Matt. x. xiii.

[2] Matt. xii. 22, 38, ix. 9—17; Luke xi. 14—16, v. 27—39; Mark ii. 14—22.

[3] Matt. xii. 1, 9; also Mark ii. 23, iii. 1. On the other hand, Luke rightly separates the two, vi. 1, 6.

[4] See especially Matt. viii. ix.

[5] Comp. the table at end of Vol. I.

[6] The call of the disciples and the healing of Peter's mother-in-law are about the only consecutive events in the beginning of the Gospels, the historical sequence of which is probable. The later chronological sequences are much more tenable, especially from Matt. xv. 1, onwards.

in juxtaposition the inner and outer relations of the life of Jesus, and by this means more logically re-arranging the primitive groups of events.[1] And this method is instructive in and of itself, and not merely because it is accidentally expedient. By bringing together all naturally allied facts, it succeeds up to a certain point in exhibiting a perfect, distinct, well-rounded and complete picture of the teaching, the actions, the daily life, the places and journeys and dates, the circle of disciples, the popular agitation, and the opponents; while a different treatment, with its chronological sequence of events which would nevertheless remain uncertain, would be in danger of scattering and dissipating, instead of gathering together, the manifold material. Looked at more closely, however, this method is seen to be a destruction rather than a restoration of history. History is development; and the greatest spiritual movement which the world has ever seen could not find expression in already stereotyped forms, either on the part of the great actor himself, or on that of his adherents and opponents. And this history actually does exhibit a development of its own. That development is not confined to the crowning of the Galilean ministry of Jesus with a journey to Jerusalem, a Messianic entry, and the crucifixion of the despised King of the Jews. It has already been in progress: Jesus himself grows in knowledge, in revelation, and in working; around him spring up belief and unbelief; and it is altogether impossible to place primly side by side, like dried plants in a herbarium, the things that existed and could exist only successively, and that shaped themselves only in the midst of sharply-defined conditions, in the midst of fierce conflicts and grand complications, as the dissolution of an older era, and perhaps as an open contradiction to it. Jesus dedicated himself to the Jews, and he dedicated himself to the Gentiles; he sought his Messiahship in his life, and he sought it in his death: but he did not exhibit both attitudes at one and the same time, and the transition from the one standpoint to the other was made only under the force

[1] Comp. especially Schleiermacher's *Leben J.* 165, &c. Strauss, xxiv.

and pressure of definite historical situations.[1] Therefore when we renounce the history of this life, we obtain nothing but an unfaithful, indistinct, colourless representation of it, a representation necessarily exhausting itself in monotonous abstractions.[2] Such a representation is an offence against this history which possesses in so high a degree life, movement, progress, conflict, and dramatic organism; it ceases to be an offence only when, in agreement with the fourth Gospel, one thinks seriously, and yet in contradiction to the truth, of a Christ complete from the beginning in purpose and knowledge, and consistent with himself even in his antitheses and contradictions, and when one also thinks of a world of unbelief and belief fully developed from the first. Schleiermacher and his followers have held fast substantially to this Johannine Christ. The present age has advanced beyond him, and having recognized the progressive, struggling, human Christ of the earlier Gospels as well as of modern culture, it cannot possibly remain stationary at half-way, and sketch afresh—even if merely, like Strauss, from mistrust of the sources —an unprogressive Christ. The present age must compel the sources to give it the living and acting Christ, to narrate a real history of Jesus.

Whatever may be the actual character of the epochs, periods, and diurnal records exhibited in detail by the Gospels, so much is certain, viz., that traces of development in the activity of Jesus, proofs of it, great and small, plain and obscure, external and internal, are profusely scattered throughout those sources;

[1] This progressive character is certainly not admitted by every one, and to the objections of Dorner and of Hofmann (*Gesch. Chr.* pp. 11, 27, 30, 35, &c.), those of Herzog (*R. E.* XXI. p. 204), and Wieseler (*Beiträge*, 1869, p. 15), are to be added. Beyschlag also (*Christol.* p. 39) speaks of the morbid striving of the age to discover development. In truth, the objections have but little force, as will be shown in connection with the separate details.

[2] For instance, nothing can easily be more preposterous than the course pursued by Neander, who (*L. J.* 1st ed. pp. 145 sqq.) anticipates the teaching of Jesus as a whole and gives a history afterwards, briefly mentions, in the description of the Jerusalemitic catastrophe, the disputations with the opponents, but refers for details to a previous place (p. 557): this is simply violently destroying history and its dramatic development.

and that it is exactly the obscure, occasional, involuntary, and hidden evidences that establish the most positive advances.[1] And when one has secured these most trustworthy guides, then will the intentional way-posts of the Evangelists—their periods and their diurnal records—grow in value in proportion as they harmonize with or do not contradict the former. Thus it is possible to construct a real history, the sayings and doings and incidents of which distribute themselves into stages, are developed by stages; a history whose incidents, thus pointing both backwards and forwards, and by no means excluding general views and organic central-points, instead of destroying the unity of this life, create a vivid, individual, multiform character, perhaps not wanting in involved and knotty points, but at least without the insipidity and unreality of an abstraction. It is possible that this history cannot now, in all its parts, be composed of mathematical certainties, but only of probabilities; yet even a history composed of probabilities, and accused perhaps of arbitrariness by the blind and their leaders, will be better, more grateful, more edifying, than the untrue history of tradition or the dead history of unsubstantial speculation—the history the beating of whose heart, the development and growth and activity of whose life, have ceased.

[1] Certainly one cannot find, in these internal indications, a mode of conception so objective, so dependent on the letter or on the assumed calendar-days, as that of Wieseler (*Beiträge*, 1869, Preface, and p. 15). He finds this and nothing else.

First Part.

THE GALILEAN SPRING-TIME.

THE second century, not without an intentional symbolism, fixed the first public appearance of Jesus in the spring, or, according to the fourth Gospel, about Easter. It is not known for certain whether this assumption rests upon tradition; but in itself it is not only pretty and ingenious, it harmonizes also with the indications in the Gospels, which, in the Sermon on the Mount, paint before our eyes the boisterous storms, the soft breezes, and flowery splendour of spring, and the gladsome life of nature. In the Sabbath controversies, we see the corn-fields white and bending to the harvest; and in the parables, the completion of the harvest. On the one hand, the early part of the year is before us; on the other, the summer. There is nothing to prevent us from placing the first public appearance of Jesus in the beginning of the spring of A.D. 34. His early ministry possessed a spring-like character: he stood forth with a full unquestioning faith in his mission and in his nation—in his nation as a whole, and not in a mere Johannine remnant; and a childlike, genuinely Galilean faith hastened to greet him. His conviction of the nearness of the kingdom of heaven gave to his words a joyous ring; his utterances were full of encouragement and benediction, and—contrary to the inference drawn by many from Mark—were harsh to no one. His healing hand, the helpmate of his mouth, wrought powerfully in its own strength and

by means of the deep sympathy that was awakened. Life sprang up throughout the fruitful fields of Galilee. In the presence of the wonderful phenomenon of the new Teacher, and in the presence of the streaming forth of the fervent love of the people and of the disciples, contradiction, astonished and affrighted, retired as winter before the spring.[1] Such is the general impression produced by what we know of the first teaching period of Jesus, and by his earliest and most characteristic utterances. Among the Gospels, Matthew most fully exhibits this first Galilean sunshine; but Mark and Luke also, notwithstanding their premature introduction of conflict, spread out before us vivid pictures of the first happy, unresting activity and growth by the Lake of Gennesareth and in Capernaum; and in John, there is a succession of joyous feasts and harvests of gladness by the Jordan, at Jerusalem, in Samaria, and in Galilee, even though from the very beginning the narrator points solemnly and sadly to the lurking unbelief, and to the reticent mistrust of Jesus towards even the faith that welcomes him.[2]

[1] In Vol. II., the spring of A.D. 34 is already given as the time of the first public appearance of Jesus, and an appeal is made to Clem. *Hom.* 1, 6, where the same period of the year is fixed upon. This testimony is confirmed by one somewhat older in the fourth Gospel (ii. 13 sqq., iv. 35); comp. Hitzig, *Geschichte Israels*, 1869, II. p. 567. Recently, H. Sevin (*Zur Chronol. d. L. J. Dissert.* 1870), takes my chronology as his basis, but relies too much on Mark iii. 21, vii. 1. Further details at the proper place.

[2] Matt. iv. 12—x. 42; Luke iv. 14—v. 16; then conflicts, v. 17—vi. 11, &c. Similarly Mark. John ii. 1—iv. 54; the first conflict, ii. 18 sqq.; the mistrust of Jesus, ii. 23 sqq.

Division I.—THE FIRST PREACHING.

A.—The so-called Sermon on the Mount.

Jesus opened his ministry by publicly challenging the attention of the whole nation, from that time forth entirely renouncing his temporal occupation.[1] This is the expression of, or the impression produced by, the earlier Gospels, in which Jesus is represented as standing forth in the synagogues and wherever he could find hearers, preaching the kingdom; and then immediately afterwards as already assuming the right to speak with authority, and as collecting his more intimate disciples and sharing with them the shelter and sustenance of their homes.[2] This representation is preferable to that of the fourth Gospel, which first describes the collecting of the disciples, and makes this to be followed by a kind of private and retired life among them and his mother and brothers in Cana and Capernaum; and then passes by degrees, through the larger yet still private gathering at the marriage at Cana, to the first public ministry at the Passover in Jerusalem.[3] According to all that we know, this latter account is unhistorical, since Jesus neither collected his disciples in the wilderness where John was, nor led his mother and brothers about with him as companions or as sharers in his sentiments, nor attended the marriage-feast at Cana, nor celebrated the Passover in Jerusalem. This Gospel is moreover inconsistent with itself, for it is by no means clear why Jesus, after having been fully introduced to the people in the wilderness of

[1] Mark vi. 3 is no proof of a continued engagement in his handicraft. See, on the other hand, Luke viii. 3.

[2] Matt. iv. 17 sqq., viii. 14 sqq.; Mark i. 14 sqq. Luke separates the first public appearance and the call of the disciples yet more widely, iv. 14 sqq., v. 1 sqq.; certainly, according to iv. 38, inaccurately.

[3] John i. 35—ii. 13 sqq.

John, should afterwards for several weeks retire again into private life. Nor is it the actual intention of this source to establish an initial period of private teaching, though the accidental grouping of its first incidents may suggest this; but its purpose is rather—not to speak of other motives—after an unobtrusive Galilean prelude, to reserve the full revelation of Jesus, the real and proper entering upon office, for Jerusalem.[1] Thus the often-repeated assumption—an assumption made by Schleiermacher and defended by Renan and Ewald—of a commencement of the ministry of Jesus in the houses of a few either related or intimately associated fishermen, whose hospitality he enjoyed, and who were the first he convinced and won, must be laid aside as groundless.[2] Though this modest beginning may appear more consistent with ordinary human experience, and therefore more credible, and may harmonize in a remarkable manner with the missionary career of a later founder of religion, whom Renan is so ready to bring in for the sake of comparison; though the three Gospels may have exaggerated the initial participation of the people, Luke having done this most of all, he speaking even of a rapidly spreading renown; yet we would far rather say that this first public appearance of Jesus before the great unlimited public is alone worthy of him, for only in such an initial public ministry does the man who is firmly convinced of his mission and of the need of the people, the determined divine hero, reveal himself; whilst an initial wooing of individuals would make him look like a timid novice or an anxious and uncertain experi-

[1] The earlier tradition had to be satisfied by placing the beginning of the activity of Jesus in Galilee, ii. 1 sqq. (marriage at Cana); but the full and public prophetic ministry was made to begin at the central-point, Jerusalem (comp. above, I. p. 178), ii. 13 sqq. The necessity of placing at the beginning the testimony to the Messiah borne by those who were specially called, *i. e.* the Apostles, and the great symbolic miracle of the wine, which demanded a private social gathering, helped to make it appear as if an initial period of privacy were described.

[2] Renan, p. 104: Un petit cercle d'auditeurs. Jouissant encore de peu d'autorité. Comp. p. 149. Ewald, p. 331: There appear to have existed in Kaphar-Nahum several houses in close proximity, the inmates of which were on friendly terms. Similarly Hausrath, *Neut. Zeitgesch.* 1868, pp. 383, 388. Comp., on the other hand, p. 356.

menter with his own strength and with the good-will of the people, or even like a little, narrow-minded schemer.[1] It is also evident that the successor of the Baptist could, like the latter, address himself only to the nation, and not merely to his friends or to an Essene-like brotherhood, and that the man who proclaimed the kingdom could not restrict the great and comprehensive kingdom of God to a single house and a single room.

It was the inalienable right of every adult Jew to make such a public appearance as a teacher in the streets, in the houses, even in the synagogues. No diploma, no examination, after the modern pattern, was needed by the teachers as their authorization. No diploma was possessed by even those who came out of the learned schools of Jerusalem; they were content with the honour of being spoken of by the people as the disciples of Hillel or of Shammai.[2] Even this legitimation from the lips of the people was, however, wanting to Jesus, and it now and then necessarily happened that he was reproached with this lack. It is true that, so far as we know, he was not thus reproached by the Scribes, although they notoriously recognized no learning except the true understanding and observance of the old tradition. It was the people themselves who, in their unlimited respect for the great teachers of Israel, and in their astonished mistrust of a wisdom which seemed to them neither conceivable nor trustworthy when not connected with a school, thus reproached him, though they did not exactly despise his doctrinal addresses.[3] But in spite of the high reputation of the schools, this objection could not command the field; even the Jewish teachers in Rome and in Assyria were not recognized because of their Jerusalemitic training, but because they possessed or pre-

[1] Luke iv. 14.

[2] As Hillel was recognized as the disciple of Shemaia and Abtalion; see above, I. p. 349.

[3] Matt. xiii. 54; John vii. 15. Superstition in the old tradition, Matt. v. 21, xv. 1. Jerome, *Pesach.* f. 33, 1: At quamvis per totum diem dissertaret (Hillel), doctrinam ejus non receperunt, donec tandem diceret: sic audivi a Shemaja atque Abtalione. Lightfoot, p. 305.

tended to possess an exact acquaintance with the Law; and Jewish merchants, Galilean experts in the Law, and even impostors, officiated as missionaries in Adiabene and Rome.[1] But men had learnt from the Old Testament that in every age God magnified the little and the despised, as in the cases of Israel, David, and Solomon; and that He called His prophets from the flock and the plough. In the most recent times, neither Judas the Galilean nor John the Baptist had been, properly speaking, a Scribe. Thus it is intelligible that Jesus himself, as a matter of course, bore the titles of Scribe, Teacher, Rabbi, though he had not—as Ammon supposed—studied in Nazara, or—as Paulus held—received authority to teach from the Essenes; and that not only the people and the disciples, but also the Pharisees and the Scribes, addressed him by such names.[2] The general character of Jewish life was less artificial and conventional, and more religious, than the life of to-day; the deed made the man, and God sent forth His mouthpiece when it pleased Him. The man who spoke with more power than the Scribes, and who was able to move his hearers strongly and to impart comfort—as did John and Jesus, and others after them—was recognized as something more than a teacher: men called him a prophet.

We should accept with the deepest gratitude an inaugural sermon by Jesus, if we could become possessed of one so easily, so authentically written or printed, as are the sermons of the

[1] Comp. Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 3, 5; 20, 2, 3.

[2] διδάσκαλος and μαθητὴς, Matt. x. 24 sq., xxiii. 8. Also ῥαββεὶ, xxiii. 7; καθηγητὴς, ver. 10; γραμματεὺς (even of the disciples), Matt. xiii. 52. Addressed by the Scribes as διδάσκαλος, Matt. viii. 19, ix. 11, xxii. 16. Very common among the Rabbis were *abi* (my father), *rabbi* (great one or elder), *mori* from *moreh* (teacher). Comp. the degrees: Major est Rabbi quam Rab et major est Rabban quam Rabbi et major est qui nomine suo vocatur quam Rabban (whence Rabbuni, see Mark and John). According to the Rabbis, the title Rabban came into use with Gamaliel the elder (the teacher of Paul), and his son Simeon (others call Simeon Hillel's son). But when Grätz (followed by Volkmar) makes the Rabbi-title subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem, not only is he contradicted by Jost and Herzfeld, but also nothing is more certain than the very old use of the address "my Rab," which alone appears in the New Testament, and is not to be confounded with the objective *title*. Comp. Lightfoot, p. 357. Wetst. p. 482. Ewald, pp. 25, 305. Herzog, xii. p. 471.

present day. A first authentic utterance of Jesus would remove a thousand difficulties, and would place his whole personality, his knowledge, purpose, capability, in an enviably clear light. And indeed it would appear as if we were not to be without this firm and established inaugural utterance. With a certain eager impatience we hasten past the few introductory words with which, according to the Evangelists, Jesus first opened his mind: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand!" They are too brief for us, too meagre; they have been already made too familiar by the Baptist; or, if they are full of a new meaning, they are too obscure. We pass over also the first public appearance in the synagogue at Capernaum, which, though probably derived from the earliest tradition, has nevertheless been reported too meagrely. We turn our eyes towards a less meagre report which Matthew—and Luke also, and why not, in some sense, even John?—promises to give us.[1]

There can be no doubt that Matthew has given so significant a position to the Sermon on the Mount because he found in it the original programme of Jesus, to a certain extent the programme that explained the outline sketched in the utterance, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." It is true he allows the commencement of the ministry of Jesus to precede the sermon; and this precedence of the commencement of the ministry is proved afresh by the gathering of the multitudes round him from every part of the Jewish territory, attracted by his fame, which had already spread abroad throughout Syria. But the very haste with which he hurries over the commencement in order to come to the Sermon on the Mount; the imposing gathering together of all Israel; the wide compass, the important contents, of the sermon itself; finally, the numerous retinue of Messianic deeds by which the sermon is accompanied; all this shows that it is Matthew's purpose to give here the

[1] Matt. iv. 17, v. 1 sqq. The appearance in the synagogue, Luke iv. 31, Mark i. 21, may belong to the earliest tradition, whilst Matthew postpones it in favour of the Sermon on the Mount, and transfers the brief remark upon the impression produced to the end of that sermon.

definitive inaugural sermon.[1] It is admitted on all sides, even by Baur and Strauss, that this address undoubtedly contains a great number of genuine, vigorous, and striking utterances of Jesus, a veritable microcosm of the new higher conception of the universe which he, a sudden incarnation of God, presented to mankind for all time. It contains indeed—if we notice more closely the period in which we here find ourselves—a treasure of such original and pregnant sayings of Jesus as he actually delivered in the spring-time of his teaching.[2] But it is impossible to approach this treasure with that positive certainty which would sensibly lay hold of and handle the first great utterances of the Lord, and would embrace and enjoy as a sweet booty the complete substance of this address, without the renunciation of a single sentence. At the very threshold of the sacred year of teaching, we begin unwillingly to use the critical pruning-knife; but this is as necessary as a surgical operation often is to a living organism, and it will lead to the clearing away of obscurities and obstructions.

We need not very deeply regret that the second Gospel has omitted this address as completely as the fourth. Even the contradiction of the third Gospel, which places it somewhat later, may be explained or passed over. These differences are quite intelligible. Mark, from the beginning to the end, notoriously prefers actions to sayings, for the sayings were too Jewish, too legalistic, for him; and the suspicious hiatus which his exaggerated scenery—far surpassing that of Matthew and Luke—does not hide, the hiatus in the third chapter from which the Sermon on the Mount has simply fallen out, has been noticed by Ewald, Schenkel, and Holtzmann.[3] Still less than Mark,

[1] iv. 24 sqq. Galilee, Decapolis, Judæa with Jerusalem, and Peræa, are mentioned. Syria comprehends, not the whole province (Bleek, Hilgenfeld, Meyer), nor even Cœlo-Syria, but the Palestinian Syria. Herodotus, 2, 104; Josephus, *Cont. Ap.* 1, 22; Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 2, 10; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 370.

[2] Baur, *Das Christenth. der drei ersten Jahrh.* 1853, pp. 25 sqq.; Strauss, pp. 204 sqq.

[3] Vol. I. p. 121. Mark's preference for actions, i. 27, iii. 7 sqq., vi. 7, &c.; indifference to sayings, iv. 2, 33, vi. 34, vii. 8, 13, &c.

could the fourth Evangelist proclaim a legalistic religion which in his age was defunct; and for the same reason, the Pauline Luke had already toned down the religion of the Sermon on the Mount into mere morality. This depreciation of the importance of the sermon explains its later position in Luke; moreover, Luke was doubly compelled to remove the Sermon on the Mount farther forward, because he had placed an initial sermon at Nazara at the commencement of Jesus' ministry, and wished to treat the Sermon on the Mount as one delivered on the occasion of choosing the disciples.[1]

The best-grounded suspicions are aroused rather by Matthew himself, and are afterwards confirmed and strengthened by Luke and Mark. The author was conscious of, but has by no means mastered, the difficulty occasioned by his placing in the beginning what did not actually occur in the beginning. He gives an exaggerated description of the concourse of the people, enumerating all the districts of Palestine, with the exception of Samaria, as sending their contingents to the crowds that gathered round the new preacher and worker of miracles—Galilee and Decapolis in the north, Judæa with Jerusalem and Peræa in the south. But immediately after the sermon, the position of affairs is remarkably simplified: instead of streaming multitudes, there appears a much more limited surrounding; the activity of Jesus is confined to the Galileans, nay, to the immediate neighbourhood of Capernaum, where his miracles very gradually occasion a concourse of the people from a more modest extent of country.[2] Luke and Mark give the same impression; and they have the advantage of representing the gathering together of the multitudes as taking place, not before, but after the sermon. From the above, it would follow that the Sermon on the Mount does not belong to the beginning, but to a later period. There is a still better reason for placing it later. Whether that sermon

[1] Vol. I. p. 100.

[2] Comp. iv. 25, vii. 28, viii. 1, and viii. 14 sqq. Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 370.

were delivered earlier or later, the hearers of the actual Sermon on the Mount were never those great masses of people, but quite other persons, such as could not have appeared on the scene until somewhat later. It is true that Matthew—as well as Luke —converts the whole nation into hearers, and Luke brings in other nationalities as well.[1] And yet these authors cannot conceal the fact—Luke being the most conscious and the most perplexed—that the essential kernel of those instructions was received by merely the wider circle of the disciples of Jesus. It was upon his disciples that Jesus looked, it was they whom he pronounced blessed, it was they whom he instructed concerning the Law and the Prophets and the Pharisees. Hence the designation of his hearers as the successors of the prophets, as disciples of the teacher, as the salt of the earth, as the light of the world, as the pattern people in the nation to the glory of God.[2] But this intimate circle of disciples to whom the Sermon on the Mount belongs, must have been gradually formed, and must have gradually acquired its distinctive significance as the salt of the earth and the light of the world; and Matthew himself cannot disguise the fact that at the period at which he fixes the sermon, scarcely any members of the circle had been gathered together; while Luke, placing the sermon somewhat later, is justified in regarding the gathering together of the disciples as in the main accomplished, as being indeed confirmed and sealed by the Sermon on the Mount, which serves the office of consecra-

[1] Luke vi. 17, differing from Matt. iv. 25, mentions even the inhabitants of the coast of Tyre and Sidon, therefore heathen Phœnicians. Mark iii. 8 makes the further addition of Idumæa.

[2] Matt. v. 1 sqq., 13 sqq., vi. 9 (comp. Luke xi. 1); Luke vi. 17, 20, 40 sqq. In these passages there is no trace of a special circle of Apostles (to whom Luke represents the address as being directed). In Matt. vii. 21, 24, the people seem to be in the speaker's mind; less distinctly in v. 23, vii. 11. The same is the case in Luke vi. 17, 24, sqq, 27, 41, 46. These additions are to be found chiefly outside of the nucleus of the Sermon on the Mount. Luke vi. 24 sqq. is an arbitrary alteration. The wider circle of disciples often mentioned, comp. Tholuck, *Bergpr.* pp. 14, 15; Weiss, *Jahrb. deutsch. Th.* 1864, pp. 54, 64. On the other hand, Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 372) thinks only of the Twelve.

tion-address of the Apostles.[1] Finally, the contents of the sermon show traces of a somewhat later date. It is true that the references to the scanty harvest of the kingdom, to the judgment of the Messiah, to the false prophets and successors of Jesus, at the close of the sermon, prove nothing to the point, since these passages, belonging to the last days of Jesus, are not to be reckoned as part of the original Sermon on the Mount. But even the proper nucleus of the sermon, the great attack upon Pharisaic legalism, does not belong to the very beginning of Jesus' public ministry. Jesus at first neither protested against the suspicion of rebelling against the Law and the Prophets, nor could he have so far departed from the peculiar circumspection and discretion which he as a teacher otherwise exhibited, as to place before his disciples—to say nothing of the nation at large —those bellicose, more than Johanninely sharp and bitter theses against the prevalent and fashionable hypocritical piety of the age. To regard those theses as forming parts of an address to the people at large, would be to invert the proper relation of things: Jesus could not thus violently make the spiritual authorities obnoxious to the people, and as a matter of fact he himself stood for some time in a pacific relation to those authorities, and only gradually, and not at once along the whole line, opened battle with them. Can any one imagine that a bitter conflict of the widest dimensions and the fullest publicity was followed by petty skirmishes over details? And, even when we adopt the more correct conclusion that the Sermon on the Mount was addressed to the disciples alone, and not to the general public,

[1] In Matt. iv. 18 sqq. only four disciples are as yet called. Others called, viii. 19 sqq., ix. 9, therefore later. In Luke also only four or five disciples are called previous to the Sermon on the Mount, v. 1—11, 27; he purposely represents others as being called just before the journey to Jerusalem and before the choosing of the Seventy, ix. 57 sqq. Nevertheless, since the Sermon on the Mount shows the existence of disciples, he speaks of *a great multitude of disciples* as being present on that occasion, vi. 17. Recognizing the necessity of the case, he has not shrunk from doing violence to history by hastily introducing disciples and the Twelve and the choosing of the Twelve immediately before the Sermon on the Mount. And Mark has followed him.

there still remains, though somewhat weakened, the impossibility that the greater conflict should have preceded the lesser; for even the disciples had to be slowly weaned from Pharisaism, and in the case of Jesus himself the greater attacks, the general system of his polemics, had naturally to be developed out of the lesser.[1] From all this it follows that the Sermon on the Mount was no inaugural sermon, but a later doctrinal sermon for the circle of the disciples, as Augustine supposed; but Matthew has converted it, not without doing violence to its sense and to the —as yet—much more modest actual attitude of Jesus, into an inaugural sermon to the people. And he has done this because many passages at least might have belonged to the first popular sermon; but rather because its spirit is so characteristic and, with the addition of the fine utterances of Jesus about childhood, is more or less the epitome and the expression of the new Christian consciousness.[2]

While Mark leaves the difficulty where it was, by merely mentioning the first synagogue-sermon in Capernaum in passing, Luke increases our perplexity by giving us an inaugural address of Jesus in Nazara, the town of his childhood and youth. It is true that even Luke does not regard this as literally the first address in Galilee, but in a general way assumes that other discourses had been already delivered; it is, however, the first sermon whose analysis he gives, and whose solemn character,

[1] The disciples Pharisaic, Matt. xvii. 10; system of polemics, comp. xv. 1 sqq., xxiii. 1 sqq.

[2] The premature insertion of this sermon has been recently deduced particularly from the synoptical comparison with Luke and Mark (comp. Holtzmann, Weizsäcker). Hilgenfeld has been led, chiefly by the contents and the listeners, to the conclusion that the sermon ought to stand immediately after the choosing of the Twelve, Matt. x.; *Zeitschrift*, 1867, pp. 371, 372. He has not given prominence, however, to the weighty fact that Jesus could not so early have placed himself in opposition to the Law in the presence of the people. Among the ancients, Augustine in particular (*De cons. ev.* 2, 19) regarded Matthew's Sermon on the Mount as intended for the disciples (that of Luke for the people). Following Augustine, Chemnitz (*Harm. ev.* I. p. 412) regarded it as a consecration-address for the Apostles (= Luke), although he (I. p. 414) and most of the later writers, including Tholuck (*Bergpredig*, 3rd ed. 1845, pp. 14 sqq.) and Bleek (I. pp. 220 sqq.), have never excluded the people. Comp. above, p. 19, note 2.

important contents, and momentous issue, lead him to give it a dominant position.[1]

According to Luke's narrative, Jesus, on the Sabbath, in the synagogue of his native town, intimated, by standing up, to the president of the synagogue and to the congregation, that he wished to speak. The minister of the synagogue handed to him the prophet Isaiah, which was probably then being read. Jesus unrolled the book and found—according to the tenor of the narrative, by divine guidance rather than by his own choice or the direction of others—the comforting words of Isaiah (lxi. 1, 2), in which the prophet proclaims to the exiled nation their delivery by the Persians, and announces his own commission as the anointed of God to carry good news to the poor, to preach deliverance to the captives and sight to the blind, to set at liberty the bruised, and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.[2] When he had given back the book, and amid the strained attention of the listeners had sat down—as was the custom of teachers—to expound, he said: *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears;* thereby openly declaring himself to be the herald of the great good time, the spiritually anointed prophet, and, more than that, the Messiah. The address which followed, but which the Evangelist does not report, excited the astonishment of the assembly; the sober, working-day experience of the hearers, however, counteracted its influence, and at its close, when it was customary to express approval or disapproval, the question was raised, "Is he not Joseph's son?" The question at once disclosed to Jesus the abortive issue of his address; he began again to speak, but instead of words of consolation he administered rebuke: "Surely ye will say to me,

[1] Mark i. 21, 22; Luke iv. 16—30, comp. vers. 14, 15. On the form of the word Nazara, see Vol. II.; and again below, on Matt. xiii. 54.

[2] Non legunt in lege nisi stantes. On the other hand, the book of Esther, legat vel stans v. sedens. Lightfoot, p. 508. The minister is the *chassan* (custos) *hakeneset*, who had charge of the synagogue and the books; or his under-servant. Buxt. p. 730. The books were rolls, *megillot*, hence ἀναπτύσσω, to unroll, opp. εἰλίσσω; comp. Winer, *Schreibkunst*.

Physician, heal thyself; before thou helpest others, procure for thyself a position, authority; repeat, here at home, the wonders of Capernaum![1] But no prophet is well received in his native place. Elijah, at the time of the famine, was sent, not to Israel, but to a widow in the Phœnician Sarepta; Elisha did not heal the leprosy of his own people, but of Naaman the Syrian." Thus, at the very beginning, he pointed out, in the unbelief of Nazara, the unbelief of Israel, and anticipated the belief of the Gentile world. This completed the breach: the pride of his native town was doubly incensed. The child of Nazara had appealed to the heathen world, which even in Galilee was regarded with genuinely Jewish contempt. He was led to the brow of the hill on which the town was built, to the "precipice" which is still pointed out, in order that, in the spirit of antique justice, he might be hurled from it. But he went forth through the midst of the people, and took with him his gospel to Capernaum.[2]

This narrative gives a vivid and highly coloured picture of Jesus' first public appearance. But it is more ingenious than real. The other Gospels by no means represent Jesus as beginning in his native town, and as fixing his residence in Capernaum after having broken with Nazara; but as making his first appearance in Capernaum, and as wisely avoiding his native place, which did not yet know how to appreciate him. Not until after he had achieved success did he go to Nazara. Even the source made use of by Luke must have placed this carefully-considered procedure much later, long after the opening of the ministry in Capernaum; this is certain from the demand made by the Nazarenes for the deeds done at Capernaum, a demand which Luke derived from his source, though his new arrange-

[1] Hetzer: "Healer, heal thyself!" In the Talmud: Medice, cura propriam claudicationem. Lightfoot, p. 510. Also in the classics, Cicero, Ep. 4, 5: Mali medici, qui ipsi se curare non possunt. Wetst. p. 681.

[2] κατακρημνισμὸς, Ps. cxli. 6. 2 Chron. xxv. 12. Persons who were to be stoned were also generally thrown down backwards from a scaffold about twice as high as a man, Lightfoot, p. 354. Winer, *Lebenstrafen, Steinigung.* Sepp, *Pilgerbuch,* II. p. 87. As to the spot, see Robinson, III. p. 423. He estimates the hill-side as from forty to fifty feet high, near the Maronite church. See above, Vol. II.

ment of the narrative rather required him to suppress it altogether. The other Gospels, Matthew and Mark, have moreover, at this later date, an occurrence which is certainly similar, yet much simpler. They are silent as to the contents of the sermon; they make Jesus reply to the rejection of the son of Joseph by merely referring to the common lot of prophets; they know of no attempt upon the life of Jesus, but simply of his refusal to perform miracles.[1] It would be absurd to suppose that there were two distinct public appearances at Nazara, each running in the same groove; and the author, prudently remaining silent as to a second appearance, has refrained from making such a supposition.[2] Moreover, the possibility of the formation of the fuller and more definite account out of the simpler and earlier, is undeniable; even Luke himself may have skilfully and boldly constructed out of the then existing materials at once a picture of the opening, and a programme of the future course, of the ministry of Jesus.

This assumption is strongly supported by the text. We may overlook the minor difficulties, namely, that Jesus had only to stand up in order to become at once both reader and expounder of the Holy Scriptures to the congregation; that instead of turning to the Law, which always occupied the first position, he turned or was forced to turn to the Prophets, and precisely to that so serviceable prophet Isaiah, and to the most welcome of all the Messianic passages that tradition has ever placed in his mouth; and that instead of abiding by the letter of the passage, he, by addition or omission, introduced arbitrary alterations of his own.[3] But we are most astounded by the explanations of

[1] Matt. xiii. 54 sqq.; Mark vi. 1 sqq. Volkmar (*Ev.* p. 70) ventures to give it as his opinion that Matthew made use of Luke, but omitted the sermon at Nazara.

[2] Yet Storr, Paulus, Wieseler, even Ewald and Meyer, have found two accounts; most modern writers, especially Schleiermacher, De Wette, Kern, Baur, Bleek, and Köstlin, hold the two to be identical.

[3] Reader and expounder were generally distinct. See above, Vol. II. Lightfoot, p. 281. Instance of a person's being asked to speak, Acts xiii. 15. The passing by the *parasheh* (the lection from the Pentateuch) is generally explained by supposing it had been already read, and that the *haphthareh* (prophetic passage) was about to be

Jesus. For, in his sermon, he proclaimed the fulfilment of the prediction, the advent of the kingdom of God, and even of the Messiah, though at that time there was not a trace of any of these gifts of God to be seen, and though, according to the most certain evidence we possess, he, as a wise and prudent man, at first veiled everything, and kept the kingdom and the Messiah of the kingdom in the obscurity of the future. This sermon makes him at the outset prefer the Gentiles to the Jews, which he could not possibly have done at the very time of his assumption of the Jewish Messiahship, and which later became a fact only as the issue of severe conflicts, and even then in a merely qualified sense. It makes him speak irritatingly, and threaten and break with the Jews before he had scarcely ceased uttering words of blessing, and though he had cautiously omitted from his text the reference to the "day of vengeance." And it represents him as not having found, in the presence of a very conceivable and pardonable initial astonishment, the repose, gentleness, and patience, out of which on other occasions he was not surprised by even the most disturbing experiences. The picture is, in every respect, a distorted one: the end is transposed to the beginning, and this inversion does violence, not only to the narrative, but also to the person and character of Jesus himself, since that which was justified at a later period—whether the subject in question be the Messiahship or the rejection of Judaism—becomes inconsiderate and precipitate, passionate and even vindictive, when placed at the beginning. The displeasure of the Nazarenes is thus justified rather than not: the false prophet ought to die, and he remains alive only through a miracle—two details, again, which are unhistorical, since the

read. But this is not readily suggested. John, Jesus, the whole of the New Testament, seize upon Isaiah. Jesus does it in Matt. xiii. 14, xv. 7. Matthew alludes to the passage in question in xi. 5. Luke leaves out of the passage from Isaiah (the blind, according to the LXX.) *ἰάσασθαι τ. συντετριμμ. τ. καρδ.*; also the conclusion *κ. ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως*. On the other hand, there is inserted from Isaiah, lviii. 6, *ἀποστ. τεθρ. ἐν ἀφ.* From three to twenty-one verses were read from the Prophets. Lightfoot, p. 508. The precise division of the texts (the Isaiah-text read later on the day of atonement, Hausrath, p. 354) cannot be given for the time of Jesus.

attempts upon his life belong to a later period, and indeed were not made at Nazara, never grew into attempts at assassination, were not averted by miracle—the fabrication of later sources—but by Jesus' Galilean journeys, until they ultimately issued in the crucifixion at Jerusalem.[1] In a word, in this inaugural sermon everything is premature, too definitely outlined, too comprehensive, and therefore also too sharply and directly opposed to the actual circumstances. This objection applies to the declaration of Messiahship and the call of the Gentiles, as well as to the attempt upon the life of Jesus, and his deliverance from that attempt. The whole history of Jesus has been here epitomized in the narrative of a single incident, has been chiselled in a figure in the vestibule; in short, an initial programme has been invented to the honour, and yet not to the honour, of Jesus.

In proportion as we pass from the earlier to the later Gospels, the less historical become these inaugural addresses. While, in Luke, the first public ministrations of Jesus consist of the address at Nazara and the miracle wrought on the demoniac at Capernaum, the fourth Gospel presents to us at the outset the great and significant miracle at Cana, next the sayings at the first Passover—which belong really to the last Passover—and then the conversation with Nicodemus.[2] For in that conversation, Jesus for the first time openly and explicitly declared himself with reference to his mission: it is, therefore, also a kind of inaugural sermon, though spoken in Jerusalem in Jesus' own room, by night, and to a single hearer; yet that hearer was a great personage, and represented the official and sympathizing Judaism. This preliminary and therefore private instruction

[1] Even Lange agrees with Paulus in thinking of a natural effect produced by the personal majesty of Jesus; but could that effect have been so great? It is notorious that Luke—as well as Mark and John—regarded Jesus as possessing a character of great mysteriousness. Comp. above, Vol. I. pp. 108, 124, 171; John vii. 10, viii. 59, x. 39, xviii. 6.

[2] John ii. 1—12, iii. 1—21. Concerning Nicodemus, see below, the disciples and the passion.

treats of admission into the kingdom of God, the conditions on the part of man being birth from above instead of from below, the being born, not of flesh, but of water and the Spirit; and on the part of Jesus, his coming down as the only-begotten Son of God and of man, as the revealer of the world above, as the organ of the divine love that saves a world of believing sinners from death to life, and as the one who to the eye of faith was both lifted up upon the cross, and lifted from the cross to heaven. The consummation of this ministry is a decisive judgment of the world, a judgment that is not a mere future one, but one that is present and is continually in progress, for the good that is in the world is voluntarily pressing towards the light, by whose beams it is made manifest, and escapes condemnation; while the mighty mass of evil flees from the presence of the light by which it is condemned. This inaugural address surpasses, more than Luke's, the actual initial teaching of Jesus; indeed, in many respects, it goes beyond the limits of the whole of the historical life of Jesus. In the beginning of his ministry, Jesus did nothing in Judæa. We have no other information about a Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, and yet also secretly a Christian, one who had overcome his national prejudices, as his Greek name signifies; and his notorious gross misunderstanding is not intelligible from the standpoint of the narrative, but only from the style of the author, who is fond of strong contrasts of light and shade. Jesus never gave prominence to the doctrine of his person, and never gave himself out to be one who came directly from heaven. He spoke of his cross much later, when it was approaching. He never so dogmatically described repentance and conversion to the kingdom of God as a birth from above by water and Spirit; it was not until towards the end that he spoke at all of water and Spirit; and the judgment he always placed in the future, not in the present. He never dwelt upon the diametrical opposition between above and below, the carnal man and the spiritual man, the distinction, in fact, between two races of men; and he never believed either that the revelation of God began with him-

self, or that the mass of the world, and especially of the Jews, was to be lost.[1] We have here a clever but pedantic epitome of the philosophical, half-Gnostic dogmatics of the author. The history of Jesus must pass over both this and the other attempts to restore the actual commencement of the ministry of Jesus. From the tedious or even vexatious pains we have taken to seek for history where it is not to be found, or where it is not to be had for the mere stretching forth of the hands, we may at least derive this profit, that we are now justified in economizing time and energy and patience by following such sure traces as we may find, rather than exhaust ourselves in examining intangible phantoms.

Yet, though we have sought everywhere in vain, from the earliest Gospels down to the latest, it does not necessarily follow that, like disappointed travellers gazing upon a wide and desolate landscape, we are to content ourselves with the meanest hut and the scantiest food, seasoned only with the virtue of resignation. The longed-for inaugural address falls finally into our hands if we patiently begin again at the beginning, and are satisfied to accept, as representative of a comprehensive programme of doctrine, the fine fragment of a popular sermon belonging to the spring-time of Jesus' teaching. We have already spoken of the traces of the season of spring to be found in a part of the doctrinal utterances at present interwoven with the Sermon on the Mount. And it is not difficult to perceive that the very passages which bear these traces are closely connected with each other; that they state the fundamental questions and the fundamental requirements of the kingdom of heaven as sublimely as affectionately in the spirit of Jesus, of one who was different from John, and with the most impressive freshness and force; that, finally, they properly belong to Jesus' sermon to the people, and by no means, or at least in no conceivable way, to the sermon exclusively addressed to the disciples. Nay, the mistake of the

[1] Comp. above, Vol. I. pp. 148 sqq. Duo genera h. primus Saturninus, Irenæus, 1, 24, 2.

Evangelist himself, who treated the Sermon on the Mount as a sermon to the people instead of to the disciples, is explained and corrected: a part of this Sermon on the Mount was the rich gift of the new Galilean teacher to the children of the people, and, as the conclusion intimates, was received by them with the astonishment of admiration and gratitude for what was both new and yet worthy of belief.[1]

What ought to be a man's chief care upon earth? Jesus began his preaching before the people with this fundamental problem of all piety, and made the index of the new religion point to the kingdom of heaven that was to come. In his first answer to the question, he placed himself again on the platform of the Baptist, who had insisted upon retirement from the world to God, retirement even into the wilderness, and quiet meditation upon the question of the salvation of the soul from the rising storm of God's anger; and yet he spoke quite differently

[1] For a more detailed analysis of the Sermon on the Mount, see below. The sermon to the people has its central point in the great fragment, vi. 19—34, which at once separates itself from the sermon to the disciples on the Law, v. 1—vi. 18 (comp. Luke xii. 33, 34, xi. 34—36, xii. 22—31); it *may*, however, have comprised also parts of Matt. vii., viz. vii. 1—5 (Luke vi. 37, 38, 41, 42), vii. 7—12 (Luke xi. 9—13, vi. 31), vii. 24—27 (Luke vi. 47—49). The indications of spring, see above, p. 10. The essential original requirements, vi. 19, vii. 24. That the people are addressed is asserted by Matthew and Luke, in so far as they represent the Sermon on the Mount as intended for both disciples and people (comp. also Luke xi. 29, 34—36). It is of still greater weight that this is indicated in the texts themselves. Matt. vi. 19—34 is not appropriate to the disciples or to scholars in general who had already separated themselves more or less from the earthly (comp. Matt. xix. 27). Moreover, see vii. 5, 9, 11, 12, 24, 26. The inner evidences must always have more weight than the statements as to who were addressed attached to the passages by the Evangelists, therefore than the special statement in Luke xii. 22; comp. verse 41. How confused are the statements as to the persons addressed in Luke xi. and xii. (xi. 14, 15, xii. 41, 54; comp. xx. 9). In Matthew also (to say no more about the Sermon on the Mount), xii. 38—45 is falsely addressed to the Pharisees. Besides the nucleus, vi. 19—34, the conclusion, vii. 24—27, which throughout refers to the public in general, and contains the forcible initial requirement, can with certainty be apportioned to the sermon to the people. If this is conceded, then the emphatic tone of these words themselves, and the analogy of all Jesus' addresses to the people, compel us to postulate a previous ethical portion, which in fact stands in vii. 1—5, 12 (verse 12 being evidently intended for the public, not for the disciples); but vii. 7—11, is closely dependent upon vi. 34, though the author has, unfortunately enough, regarded it as an introduction to verse 12.

from John, for he showed first of all the friendly, alluring countenance of the Father, and kept his solemn threatenings of the impenitent fools until the end. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."[1] A wise guide to the kingdom of heaven, he here commends God, not as the object of the innate longing of the human heart, but as the refuge from earthly disappointments and hopes. A double, treble corruption is gnawing at earthly good: such good is destroyed naturally, by both animal ravages and chemical change, and also by human agency, the common evil of society; but no earthly perishability, no snares of evil men, endanger the goods gathered together in heaven and laid up in store until the day of the Lord's coming upon earth. It is evident from the context, that the latter are those goods of the kingdom of God which are acquired by striving after righteousness (not merely—as the Ebionite source of Luke has it—by the giving away of earthly possessions as alms), and which are afterwards so wonderfully described in the beatitudes addressed to the disciples.[2] The first principle of this striving after God is: Be undivided in your mind. Fundamentally, the same principle also comes into play in striving after the world, although the ordinary man, coveting what is beneath and in need of what is above, dreams

[1] Matt. vi. 19. βρῶσις, according to the Vulgate *ærugo*, rust, might, through the corn-worm (Kuinoel), refer to destruction by animal agency; the context naturally forbids its application to men (Rom. xiv. 17). Comp. Isaiah li. 8. A good parallel in *Hier. Peah*, f. 15, 2: Rex Monobazus (Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 2, 1), larga manu pauperibus sua erogans, hæc audiit a cognatis ac amicis: majores tui opes auxerunt, tu vero et tuas alteris et majorum. Quibus ille: opes suas reposuerunt patr. m. in terris, ego meas in cœlo. Thesauros recondiderunt fructum non ferentes, ego ferentes fructum. Thesaurizaverunt patr. m., ubi potestas esset manibus, ego vero, ubi non est (then further, they pro aliis, I pro me; they in hunc mundum, I in futurum). Lightfoot, p. 296. Schöttg. p. 66.

[2] Comp. Matt. vi. 33 and v. 3—12. Luke, xii. 33—following his Ebionite source—regards alms as a deposit in heaven (as also xvi. 1 sqq.); this is certainly a common Jewish view; see the previous note and Matt. xix. 21.

of toiling for both. "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." That heart, like the physical eye, is either healthy or diseased. The diseased eye, a light which is darkness, involves the whole man in darkness, and what a darkness! The healthy eye places the whole body in clear joyous light. The one eye is the heart that is turned towards God, the other is the heart that is turned towards the world. As in each case the heart is a ruling power in the man, so is the whole man turned either towards God or towards the world; the one man quite healthy, seeing, full of light and happy, the other altogether diseased, blind, dark, and unhappy. Hence, without figure, "No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will hold to the one and despise the other: ye cannot serve God and mammon—riches."[1]

From the inevitable alternative follows the equally inevitable conclusion: Give up thinking and caring for the earthly, and occupy yourself with thought and care about the heavenly. "Therefore I say unto you, be not careful for your life, what ye shall eat and drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on."[2] And here the strict, harsh alternative—"either—or"—is suddenly relaxed; the pious man who, renouncing this world, lays up treasure in heaven, does not lose all place and existence upon the earth; he is no homeless outcast here below, no unhappy, pining wretch. It is true there remains to him the alternative—his good lies in heaven, and he cares for none

[1] In Matt. vi. 19—24 there is an admirable connection, though Luke has very unskilfully separated these sayings (Luke xii. 33, 34, xi. 34 sqq., xvi. 13). As to the matter, comp. Seneca, *Ep.* 79: Effugisse tenebras, bono lucis frui, non tenui visu clara prospicere, sed totum diem admittere. Lightfoot and Schöttgen quote passages on the good and the evil (envious) eye, but these belong to Matt. xx. 15. Two masters, *Synops. Soh.* p. 65, n. 3.: Quic. approximat uxori alteri, idem facit ac si duobus dominis serviret. *Mamon* (mm. It. Vu.), Aram. Talm. *mamona* (Jerome, Ep. 121, 6, *ad Algas.*: Syrorum lingua divitiæ; Aug. *Serm. Dom.* 2: punice lucrum), connected with the Hebrew *aman* = to support and to be supported, to be reliable and sure. The Hebrew substantive *œmunah* is repeatedly translated by the LXX. = treasure, wealth. Buxt. p. 1217. Tholuck, p. 407. Hilgenfeld, p. 385: from *mathmon*, treasure.

[2] Matt. vi. 25 sqq.; Luke xii. 22 sqq.

other; but the God of heaven, being Lord both of heaven and earth, stands above the alternative, concerns Himself also with what is below, guards the earthly good of His own people, and thus miraculously enables them to obtain both the heavenly and as much as is necessary of the earthly. "Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?" He obscurely intimates that the life, the gift of God, exists before the human anxiety about food, and the body before the clothing; and that both, as a grand product of divine power, put to the blush the human labour, which is so small as to pass out of sight in the comparison, and indeed is ludicrously unnecessary. What he has obscurely suggested he then shows plainly by pointing to nature around, in the midst of whose cheerful life and movement he is standing, in whose life and movement he sees the ruling and beneficent God—nay, using a name that transforms heaven and earth, the beneficent Father of mankind. He mentions first anxiety about food and its ludicrousness, human helplessness in contrast with divine omnipotence. "Behold the birds of the air, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them; are ye not much better than they? Who among you, by taking thought, can add one cubit to his stature?"[1] He then refers to anxiety about clothing. "And why are ye careful about raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. Yet I say unto you that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these. But if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall He not much more clothe you, O ye of little

[1] The mention of the cubit measure shows that in Luke xii. 25, ἡλικία is not to be translated according to its original meaning, *age*, but according to the later Greek usage (comp. Luke ii. 52, xix. 3), *stature, bodily size.* Similar passage, *Kiddusch c. u. Hal. u.:* Vidistine unquam bestiam aut volucrem, quæ opificium habuerint? at aluntur sine labore et molestia. *Gemar.:* Vidistine cervum æstivos fructus colligentem—et tamen aluntur sine labore. *Siphr. in Ialk. Sim.* p. 2, f. 40, 1: Num vos sevistis triticum et provenit hordeum? Lightfoot, p. 304. Schöttgen, pp. 69, 70. *Apotheca* also in the Talmud, *ib.*

faith?"[1] Thus triumphantly and securely he hastens towards the final encouragement, dissipating every earthly care, commending the sole care about heavenly things, leaving the former to the Gentiles, and inculcating the latter upon the children of God. "Therefore be not careful, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles zealously seek. For your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek first His kingdom and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Therefore be not careful for the morrow: for the morrow shall care for itself. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."[2]

Thus, according to Jesus, the God-serving life is that which seeks daily and hourly what is above and yet does not lose what is beneath, so far as the latter forms the indispensable basis of human existence. This is a sublime and—more than that—a wholesome idealism, full of vital vigour and utility, actually within the reach of both the weak and the strong among men;

[1] Furrer (*Bedeutung der bibl. Geographie*, 1870, p. 29), relying upon the Englishman, Tristram, has recently objected to the *lilies* of the Gospels, notwithstanding the word in the original, and has substituted for them the frequently occurring fire-red anemones (*Anem. coronaria*). But the fact that white or coloured lilies (*Lilium candidum*, and the orange lily, the crown-imperial, the martagon lily, comp. Winer) are more seldom met with, is no proof. The presumption rather is that a rarer example is referred to, one that, in contrast with the less noticeable anemone, was a "high-growing" plant, and certainly, if possible, of a red and regal colour. Hence it may have been the *Lilium rubrum*. *Esr.* 3, 24: Elegisti tibi lilium unum. Of little faith, *kethanne æmunah*, frequently among the Jews. Lightfoot, p. 304. Schöttgen, p. 71.

[2] Comp. Vol. I. p. 37. Often among the Jews: Ex primario (ikkar = stock, stem) facere accessorium (thaphel = something patched or cemented on), *e.g.* opes plus diligere quam animas. After the pattern of Solomon's res adjectæ. Schöttgen, pp. 73 sqq. *Abot R. Nath.* 30: Qui consuet. mund. primo et verba legis sec. loco habet, is postponetur in hoc mundo. Even food for the next day is not to be asked for, *Soh. Ex.* f. 26: Qui cibum tantum pro hodierno die rogat, is vocatur homo fidelis. *Sot.* f. 48: Quic. adhuc buccellam in canistro residuam habet dicitque: quid eras comesturus sum, est ex numero parvorum fide. Schöttgen, pp. 71, 72. Evil, *Sot.* 1080: Nulla dies est sine plaga, Schöttgen, p. 75. *Kiddusch*, l. c.: Æquum esset, ut alerer sine dolore et molestia (but it is otherwise on account of sin). Schöttgen, p. 70. Yet God provides for the day, *Mechilt*, f. 32, 1, upon Ex. xvi. 4: Quicunque creavit diem, creavit etiam cibum ejus. Schöttgen, p. 71.

an idealism that with all seriousness aims at elevating humanity to the service of God, not by the institution of mere periodical ceremonial worship, but by requiring the devotion of an undivided life; an idealism which, nevertheless, does not demand the annihilation of human life, a breaking away from what is beneath, a bleeding and vain martyrdom with reference to the divinely-appointed earthly basis of life, but which brings the earthly itself, gratefully accepted and enjoyed, within the sphere of the perpetual service of God. It is true that this idealism implies withdrawal from the world, and the accompanying realism limitation to what is absolutely necessary and unsolicitous, toilless acceptance from the hand of God. The sacredness of work, work as a service rendered to God, in the modern sense, is not taught; of this there can be no doubt. In particular, the forbidden care is not only, as modern expositors wish to make it, the care that is full of anxiety and apprehension; according to the context, it is every kind of anticipatory and provident care. There is no satisfactory explanation afforded by the supposition that the native province of Jesus permitted such a toilless repose, field and lake supplying a daily abundance of God's gifts. For even in Galilee men lived by the sweat of their brows. But faith in the heavenly destiny and in the earthly preservation of man necessarily found such a strong, heroic, exuberant expression in doctrine and life, when it first burst triumphantly forth and impelled men to seek earnestly and sincerely for higher and the highest good. But when once idealism, a God-serving elevation of character, has been realized, earthly toil finds itself again; and Jesus himself immediately assisted to bring this about, by preferring to draw the imagery of his parables of the kingdom of God from earthly toil, and still more by creating a belief in a divine guarantee of even that which is earthly, and in a divine glory of the earthly. And in this way we may be justified in so explaining Jesus' saying about improvidence as to make it appropriate to the world in the present day.

In connection with this idealism of tendency towards God, of infinite trust in what is above to the exclusion of all care for what is below, stands the injunction to pray. It is true the Heavenly Father already knows everything; yet it is His will that what is needed should be asked for; and prayer itself is the expression of the tendency upwards towards God and the Father, which, strengthened from above, overcomes what is below. "Ask," cries Jesus to the people in the Sermon on the Mount, "ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, when his son shall ask bread of him, he will not offer him a stone? Or if he shall ask a fish, he will not offer him a serpent? If ye then, although ye are evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?"[1] It is an increasingly urgent, energetic, bold importunity before God the Father, that he requires in the asking, seeking and knocking; and he holds out the prospect of an answer without fail, a hearing of prayer without exception. The devotional intercourse between heaven and earth is not merely subjective idealism; it is realism on both sides, intercourse, exchange, giving and receiving. Did he deceive himself with this great faith? Is the heaven brass, is God bound by the adamantine fetters of His laws? These are modern views of the universe with which, however, his own may be made to harmonize. Whilst he never taught that God effected anything by breaking His laws, he nevertheless believed in a personally free giving and offering on the part of God through the agency of His laws. Apart from theory, do the facts of a non-hearing of prayer confute him? He, the greatest offerer of prayer, did not find such facts in his life, and he therefore

[1] Matt. vii. 7—11; Luke xi. 9—13. *Berach.* f. 32, 2: Si vides hominem, qui orat et non exauditur, is preces repetat. *Chol.* f. 60, 1: Deus preces justorum desiderat. Schöttgen, p. 78. Stones instead of bread, comp. Seneca, *Benef.* 2, 7: Panis lapidosus (hominis duri).

ascribed to prayer even a miraculous efficacy; only towards the close of his life did he meet with such facts, and then, even before the divine answer, he could feel a presentiment of and could understand a higher will than the human. Hence he always prayed conditionally, and the condition totally destroys the confuting evidence of the fact. But it was natural that he should not introduce this condition when he was teaching the great general principle, and implanting a joyous and steadfast faith.

A sermon addressed to the people and intended to plant the kingdom of heaven upon earth, could not, notwithstanding its insistance upon withdrawal from the world, and the saving of the soul and life in the bosom of God the Father, be brought to a conclusion without a reference to social life and the setting up of a new national morality. The Old Testament itself consisted of religion and morals, and one of its greatest virtues was humanity. Even the Pharisees commended the love of one's neighbours and clemency in judgment; the Essenes, mutual help and compassion; and the Baptist, righteousness and mercy. Jesus himself condensed the Law into the two sentences: Love God, and love your neighbours; and he epitomized the prophets by the single sentence of Hosea's: Mercy, not sacrifice![1] There still remains to us at least a small fragment of moral commands to the people, belonging possibly to the popular sermon we have been considering, in which Jesus, as was his wont, began with God and ended with man. "Judge not," he begins, apparently correcting some trivial action, but in truth dealing with a cardinal question, and directing his words, not, as did the old Scribes, to the judges at Jerusalem, but to the children of the people, with their genuinely human, genuinely Jewish, and genuinely Pharisaic leaning to the preaching of repentance to others, whilst the kingdom of heaven required repentance from themselves,—"Judge not," says he, with a Pharisaically severe

[1] Comp. above, Vol. I. pp. 337, 379 sq. Also Luke iii. 10 sqq.; Matt. xxii. 37, ix. 13, xii. 7.

threat of retaliation, "that ye be not judged! For with what judgment ye judge, shall ye be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."[1] From judging he passes on to hypercriticism in its harshest as well as in its gentlest form. He rejects even the most delicate, apparently most benevolent, most beneficent act of judging,—in fact, though not in name, the general Pharisaic character of the age, a character which was impenitent, irredeemable, and as self-righteous as it was corrupt. He not only alarms with the threat of divine judgment; he puts thoroughly to shame the weakness disguised under pretended strength, the malice hiding under pretended compassion, of the man who offers to extract the dangerous, light-hindering, destructive splinter out of the spiritual and moral eye of another, to rescue him from his sins, to make him free to think and act rightly and religiously, whilst in himself as great or greater sin is crying for help. "See first the beam in thine own eye!" "Hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou discern how to cast out the splinter out of thy brother's eye!"[2] Thus, in a different way and more searchingly than the Baptist, he urges his hearers to renounce spiritual conceitedness; he insists upon self-inspection and self-criticism with reference to the secret impurities of the heart and life; he preaches, with confounding, convincing, and convicting force, the repentance which is the beginning of the kingdom of heaven, and, as the education of the individual, is the prelude to the education of the world. However many social rules, not only of forbearing, but also of enduring and compas-

[1] Matt. vii. 1 sqq.; Luke vi. 37—42. Judging, not simply condemning, Luke vi. 37. The correspondence of divine retaliation, comp. Ecclus. xxviii. 1 (viii. 6). The Rabbis often: Mensura pro mensura. Schöttgen, p. 78. Fine sentence of Joshua Perachiah in *Pirke Abot*, I. 6: Omnes hom. judica ad lancem æquitatis. Pharisaic spirit of retaliation, see above, Vol. I. p. 338. On the spirit of the Jews, comp. only Rom. ii. 1 sqq., 17 sqq.

[2] The same figure often used by the Jews, comp. Lightfoot, p. 305: Quin si dicat quis alteri: ejice festucam ex oculo tuo, responsurus est ille: ejice trabem ex oculo tuo (glossa: parvum, magnum peccatum in manu tua; the latter an instance of genuinely Jewish coarseness).

sionate love—rules similar to the fine utterances which at a later period he addressed to his disciples—the greatest preacher of love may have added, it suffices that at the end of the sermon they are all comprehended in the one golden utterance, intelligible to all the people: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets." This was a precept also among Jewish teachers, though significantly used almost exclusively in the form of a prohibition; and on account of its pure humanity, it was readily adopted from the Jews and the Christians by the Gentiles of the period of the emperor Alexander Severus, and also by the secular thought of modern times.[1] Though it is a precept whose moral standard is derived from the measure of a man's claims upon men, its essence does not consist in the arbitrariness of the claims, but in their justice, in the requirement of a reciprocity in pursuance of which one man does to another what he in the name of God and of justice can demand for himself as a person and as the crown of the creatures of God. And Jesus brings this sense sufficiently into prominence by speaking of the Law and the Prophets, the representatives of righteousness and love, as the representatives of this standpoint. This utterance, then, is intrinsically in perfect harmony with that other in which Jesus epitomizes the whole teaching of Moses: Love thy neighbour as thyself; whilst in point of fact his own loving nature passed even beyond this precept; for when he spoke his highest teaching he in effect said, Love him more than thyself![2]

In a majestic and profoundly serious manner he concluded this call to the kingdom and its righteousness—most characteris-

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 337. Lightfoot, p. 304. Schöttgen, p. 80. Alexander Severus, in Lampridius, *Alex. Sev.* 51: Clamabat sæpius, quod a quibusdam sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat et tenebat, idque per præconem, cum aliquem emendaret, dici jubebat: *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris;* quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus præscribi juberet. Notwithstanding his well-known acquaintance with Christianity, he derived the precept from Judaism, since the latter generally used it in its negative, and the former in its positive, form. Comp. Kant's principle in the *Kritik prakt. Vernunft*, Lehrsatz, III.

[2] Comp. only Matt. v. 39 sqq.

tically without any allusion to his own personal Messianic rights —with a genuinely Johannine anticipation of the approaching storm of the future, figurative precursors of which could be seen in the storms and falls of rain and inundations of the spring. "*Every one,*" said he, using a figure which had also been employed by Jewish teachers, and the leading features of which were ready to his hand in Ezekiel,—"Every one that heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man that built his house upon the rock. And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not; for it had been founded upon the rock. And every one that heareth these words and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man that built his house upon the sand. And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it."[1]

Even in its fragmentary form, the inaugural utterance of Jesus is so grand and impressive that we can understand the astonishment of the people, and also the strong emotion of the author himself when he adds, "For he taught them as an authorized ambassador of God, and not as their Scribes."[2]

B.—The Watchword of Jesus.

The fragment of the Galilean sermon to the people has given us a first vivid picture of Jesus' preaching of the kingdom. That picture is, however, a limited and—since the elements are wanting out of which the whole might be constructed—a not

[1] Matt. vii. 24 sqq.; Luke vi. 47 sqq. Comp. Ezekiel xiii. 11; Job xxvii. 18 sqq. *Abot R. Natan*, c. 23: Si quis opera bona habet multumque in lege didicit, is similis est homini, qui domum ita exstruit, ut inferius saxa ponat, iis vero postea lateres imponat. Licet postmodum *aquæ* multæ veniant et ad latus ipsorum consistant, tamen illa loco movere non possunt. Homo vero, qui non habet bona opera, si aquæ sensim tantum adveniant, statim illam evertunt. *Pirke Abot*, 3, 17: Arbori, cujus rami multi sunt, radices vero paucæ, quanque *ventus* irruens radicitus evellit et exstirpat. The other tree, in quam etiamsi venti omnes, qui in mundo sunt, irruant, non tamen eam de loco suo movent. Schöttgen, p. 84.

[2] Matt. vii. 28, 29. Comp. Mark i. 22; Luke iv. 32; and above, p. 16, note.

quite distinct and intelligible one. Indeed, a study of the plan or plans of Jesus, as they have been sketched by our modern rationalistic age, does not procure for us directly a clear and correct view of the general doctrinal ministry of Jesus.[1] Jesus undoubtedly had a plan, and his plan had its historical development; but that plan could be shown and explained only by the original facts themselves, and not by the crude conclusions of the illumination, and the emaciated ideas of the philosophy, of the eighteenth century, ascribed, with more or less of good intention, but uncritically and without system, to antiquity. The initial utterance of Jesus can be recognized, still better than in the greater or lesser well-constructed initial addresses, in the few words which we at first passed cavalierly by, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."[2] This modest, and at first sight undervalued possession, must now be carefully analyzed and appraised.

The whole of the New Testament stands as the general guarantee that the first utterance of Jesus was really of this character, and has not been fictitiously thus represented. Matthew certifies the verbal expression; and Luke and Mark do the same, yet more credibly, because they do it almost involuntarily.[3] All the Gospels mention the preaching of the kingdom and the insistance upon repentance, partly in the genuine words of

[1] Comp. the Fragmentist, *On the Purpose of Jesus and his Disciples*, 1778. On the other hand, Franz Volkmar Reinhard, *Enquiry into the Plan which the Founder of the Christian Religion sketched for the Benefit of Mankind*, 1781, 4th. ed. 1798. Also Paulus, Venturini, Ammon, Neander, Weisse. Rejection of the subjective, Neander, p. 102; Ullmann, *Sündlosigkeit Jesu*, p. 105.

[2] Matt. iv. 17: *μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*. The above representation essentially opposed to Weisse (*Ev. Gesch.* I. pp. 315 sq.), who supposes not only that Matthew has put Jesus' cry into the mouth of the Baptist, but also that Jesus did not make use of the cry until later (about the period referred to in Matt. x.), and that Mark has more correctly given the initial utterance. Comp. also Holtzmann, *Gesch. Isr.* II. p. 354.

[3] According to Volkmar (*Evang.* p. 68), the cry is only Mark's counterstroke to the eschatological *ἐγγύς* of the Apocalypse. As if only the master—Paul—had had the definite conception of a present kingdom, and as if the "near at hand" of Mark was actual presence. Not to speak of other grounds against Volkmar's view, a Mark xiii. &c.

Jesus; even the fourth is not altogether silent upon the matter, though instead of the kingdom it prefers to mention the Lord of the kingdom, the Son of God who had already appeared, and instead of repentance it prefers to speak of faith in the Son of God and in his glory.[1] The Apostles also carry on the preaching of repentance and of the already come Messiah; and Paul continues the very preaching of the kingdom.[2] But Matthew alone furnishes the exact utterance of Jesus, with the express information that this was the beginning of the preaching of Jesus, and that Jesus afterwards sent forth his Apostles with the same watchword.[3] John does not take the trouble to specify the initial utterance of Jesus; Luke has arbitrarily altered it to make it harmonize with the view of a later period, though he nevertheless incidentally shows us the old, correct watchword; and Mark has given what was impossible, a combination of Matthew and Luke, connecting the proclamation of the futurity and of the present existence of the kingdom into one formula.[4]

[1] The "preaching of the kingdom" (Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35) in numberless passages in Matthew; comp. only v. 3, 4 [verse 5 in Auth. Vers.], 10, 19, 20, vi. 33, xii. 28, xiii. 11 sqq. The preaching of repentance, ix. 13, xi. 20 sqq., xii. 41, xviii. 3, xxi. 32. Comp. also Luke xii. 32, xiii. 1 sqq., xvii. 20, xviii. 13 sqq., xxiv. 47. Mark iv. 26, vi. 12; John iii. 3, 5, xviii. 36 sqq.

[2] Acts ii. 36, 38, iii. 19 sqq., xi. 18; Gal. v. 21; 1 Cor. iv. 20, vi. 9 sqq.; 2 Cor. vii. 9 sq., xii. 21.

[3] Matt. iv. 17, x. 7; comp. iii. 2.

[4] In the fourth Gospel, the language of the conversation with Nicodemus, iii. 3, 5, approaches most nearly to the watchword of Jesus. Luke, in his sermon at Nazara (see above, p. 22), has no longer only the approach, but the actual advent of the kingdom and the announcement of that advent. But this advent belongs to a later period, Matt. xii. 28; Luke xi. 20. This distinction was formerly overlooked; and even since Weizsäcker and I have drawn attention to it, Ewald (p. 266), Volkmar (p. 68), and others, still overlook it. Mark i. 15 has the fulness of time and the approach of the kingdom at one and the same time,—a pure contradiction explicable only as a blending together of Matthew and Luke. For it is not said that the prophecy is fulfilled, as in Luke, but that the time is fulfilled: when the time, however, is fulfilled, the approach of the kingdom is no longer possible—the kingdom is already present. Particularly is the formula of Mark secondary and late: Believe the Gospel! Schenkel (p. 59) finds originality in this very expression; yet even Volkmar does not find it (p. 68), but thinks that here the Christian speaks. For the rest, however, Mark is to him the original; and he attacks Matthew's original utterance—as others do Mark—with ungrounded assertions (p. 70). Occasionally the preferable form is to

Even the antique title that was in the mouth of both the Baptist and of Jesus—"the kingdom of heaven"—is lost by all the Evangelists except Matthew, and is translated into the more direct, and to every one, especially to the Gentiles, more intelligible, "kingdom of God."[1]

The cry of Jesus directs our thoughts first of all to John, and yet much further back, to the Old Testament.[2] The conception of the kingdom of God, somewhat obscure to the modern consciousness, belongs—as the investigation of the closely related idea of the Messiah has shown—directly to the fundamental conceptions of the Old Testament. It was the pride of Israel; not merely because the nation believed in its *own* privileges, but because, before all other nations, it had attained to a belief in the possibility of a covenant between heaven and earth, God and man, in an interweaving of divine purposes in the changes that occurred upon the earth, and in the fitness for God's service of an earthly government even within the modest limits of a small nation. It was indeed also the sorrow of Israel and the great misfortune of its history: on the one hand, it checked free, political, purely human, and even purely religious development; on the other hand, it was destined to be the severe critic of the reality which was always so inferior, so contradictory, to the ideal. But in this very sorrow, in this ceaseless criticism of the earthly misery and the earthly limitations, it became the guide and guard of that infinite wrestling which in faith in and longing for the coming kingdom of heaven, and in the ultimate actual presence of the Messiah upon earth, endeavoured to fuse together, and did fuse together, idea and reality, the life of God and of men, heaven and earth.

The dominating thought of the Old Testament is that of the kingdom of God upon earth. God is the God, the Lord, the

be found in Luke, x. 9, 11, comp. ix. 2, xxi. 8. The word ἤγγ. = Hebr. *higgia* (not *ba*), Ezekiel vii. 12; Eccles. xii. 1. Lightfoot, p. 556. Comp. also above, Vol. I. pp. 114 sqq.

[1] See below, pp. 48 sqq.

[2] Comp. Matt. iii. 2; afterwards perhaps a customary formula, Luke xxi. 8.

King of the whole earth; but from among all the nations He has chosen Israel to be His peculiar possession, His servant, His people, His first-born, His priestly kingdom: God is Israel's King, and rules as King.[1] God fulfils His regal office by spiritually and physically bringing the nation into existence, by protecting, regulating, and guiding it with His blessings and His chastisements; He does all this, sometimes by His immediate presence, and sometimes through the agency of His inspired organs—lawgivers and generals, priests and prophets, and finally kings, who in fact are only viceroys.[2] This kingdom has, however, its limits: the nations without do not obey, they make attacks upon, the people of God, and the people of God sin against themselves and against their King. In the face of this double limitation there arose, almost a thousand years before Christ, the cry of longing for the future kingdom of God, for the kingdom that should conquer and win the nations, and should plant in Israel righteousness, knowledge, peace, and blessing, the kingdom of God in which God or His Messiah-Deputy should be King over the whole earth, and all the tribes of the earth should come up to worship the King, the Lord of Hosts.[3]

There appears to be a significance in the change of the name "kingdom of God" into that of "kingdom of heaven," as we find it in the days of Jesus, and also long before in the book of Daniel. It is obvious that the two ideas are very closely related; they are not, however, identical in meaning, as is main-

[1] King, *melech*, *mclcch Israel*, *βασιλεὺς*, Psalm v. 3, xliv. 5, xlviii. 3, lxviii. 25, lxxiv. 12, lxxxiv. 4; Isaiah vi. 5, xli. 21, xliv. 6; Deut. xxxiii. 5. *Mamlachah*, 2 Chron. xxx. 12. *Meluchah*, Psalm xxii. 29. *Malchut*, ib. ciii. 19; Dan. iii. 33, vi. 26 sq., vii. 14 (ib. *sholthan*). *Malchu*, ib. ii. 44. In the Greek, *βασιλεία*: Psalm xxi. 29, *τοῦ κυρίου ἡ βασιλεία*; cii. 19, *ἡ β. αὐτοῦ πάντων δεσπόζει*; Daniel iii. 33, *ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, β. αἰώνιος*; 1 Sam. viii. 7 (after the declaration of the people's will to have a king), *ἐμὲ ἐξουδενώκασι, τοῦ μὴ βασιλεῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν.*— Lord of the world, Lord of the nation, Exodus xix. 5, 6, *λαὸς περιούσιος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν. ἐμὴ γάρ ἐστι πᾶσα ἡ γῆ. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔσεσθέ μοι βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα* (*mamlechet kohanim*) *καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον*; comp. ib. iv. 22 sq., vi. 6; 1 Kings viii. 15 sq.

[2] Comp. Exodus xix. 5; Deut. v. 1 sqq., vi. 1 sqq., xxviii. 1 sqq.

[3] Comp. Zech. xiv. 9, *ἔσται κύριος εἰς βασιλέα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.* Also verse 16.

tained by those who appeal to the fact that the Rabbis, in their awe of the name of God, were glad to make use of the word heaven.[1] The idea of heaven is essential to the new name, which is, far more than the "kingdom of God," quite intrinsically a name of antithesis, of opposition, but also of assurance of eternal victory over the earth, united into a gigantic, demoniacal, universal monarchy, as a contrast to the ideal of the people of God. Israel, powerless for centuries, in each successive century only more and more helpless in the grasp of the empires of the world, and at the very date of the composition of the book of Daniel (B.C. 167) captive and bound in the hands of the successors of Alexander the Great, impatiently awaited that which was to overthrow the kingdoms of the earth, viz., the kingdom of heaven, a kingdom as wide and even wider than the other kingdoms, as durable and even more durable than they—nay, eternal. The four great human kingdoms which rose out of the earth and ultimately out of the infernal depths of the sea, which got possession of, devoured, and trampled down all the lands under heaven, lifting themselves up to the stars of heaven only to fall one after another, one by means of another, were to be finally succeeded by the kingdom of the God of heaven, who, in the clouds of heaven, would solemnly invest His saints with regal power, and amid signs in heaven and upon earth would give to them the whole earth, the kingdoms of all the kings under heaven, all races and tongues, as an unchangeable, permanent, and eternal empire.[2]

[1] De Wette, *Bibl. Dogmatik*, 3rd ed. 1831, § 204: *Shamaim* is equivalent to *elohim* (maaseh sh. = God's work). Such expressions as the name, honour, help, punishment, of heaven, are used instead of the name, &c., of God (Lightfoot, p. 263; Ewald, p. 25, comp. p. 35); but, according to what follows, this explanation does not suffice for the expression, "kingdom of heaven."

[2] Dan. ii. 39, *βασιλεία τρίτη, ἡ κυριεύσει πάσης τῆς γῆς*; vii. 17 sqq., *τέσσαρες βασιλεῖαι ἀναστήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς* (Chald, *min-ara*); ib. 3, *τεσσ. θηρία μεγάλα ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης* (comp. Rev. xiii. 1; Hitzig, on Dan. vii. 2); ib. 23, *βασιλεία τετάρτη ἔσται ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἥτις ὑπερέξει πάσας τὰς βασιλείας καὶ καταφάγεται τᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*; iv. 14, 22, 29; v. 21, *ἡ β. τῶν ἀνθρώπων*; vii. 27, *ἡ β. τῶν β. τῶν ὑποκάτω παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; viii. 10, *ἐμεγαλύνθη ἕως τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; ii. 37, *ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; vii. 13, *ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*

Under the influence of the favourite book of Daniel, and kept alive by protracted hardships and oppression under the Greeks and Romans, to whom it has been supposed that the prophetic book was open as early as the time of Alexander the Great, this prospect, this hope of the kingdom of God, of the heavenly kingdom, had been handed down from generation to generation through the last two centuries to the days of the Baptist. The literature of these later ages, even the Alexandrian literature (the Book of Wisdom in particular), has preserved a number of traces of this hope; the Pharisees called God the only Lord and Commander of Israel, to the exclusion of the Herods and the Romans; Judas the Galilean, the turbulent predecessor of the Baptist, added the decisive last word to the Pharisaic teaching against the Roman rule, and, declaring that a human ruler by the side of God was not to be tolerated, he sought, sword in hand, to realize the ideal of Daniel, to supersede the earthly sovereignty of the Romans by the sovereignty of God.[1] Finally, the old conception of Daniel's was exactly seized upon and carried through the land by John the Baptist, who was great through the revival of the sacred name, but greater still through his faith in the near approach of the fact itself, and through his resolve to prepare the way for the divine redemption by a judgment not executed by a human arm, but dependent upon human repentance.[2]

ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρ. ἐρχόμενος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ βασιλεία, ἐξουσία αἰώνιος; verse 18, *παραλήψονται τὴν β. ἅγιοι ὑψίστου*; verse 27, *καὶ ἡ β. τῶν βασ. τῶν ὑποκάτω παντὸς τ. οὐρανοῦ ἐδόθη ἁγίοις ὑψίστου—βασιλεία αἰώνιος*; vi. 27, *ποιεῖ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. Renan also traces the expression back to Daniel, pp. 78, 79.

[1] Comp. Vol. I. pp. 261, 317 sqq., 346 sqq. Jos. *Ant.* 18, 1, 6, *μόνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν θεὸν ὑπειληφότες* (Pharisees). *B. J.* 2, 8, 1, *κακίζων, εἰ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἵσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας* (Judas the Galilean). Wisdom, x. 10, *βασιλεία θεοῦ*; v. 17, *βασίλειον εὐπρεπείας, διάδημα κάλλους*; i. 14, *ᾅδου βασίλειον ἐπὶ γῆς*. Often said of God, *κύριος, βασιλεύς*. The whole conception perhaps an Alexandrian abstraction.

[2] We gain a clearer idea of the Baptist's position when we look to Isaiah ix.—xi. for the foundation of his addresses in the wilderness. Though the expression "kingdom of heaven" is not found literally in the book of Daniel (many passages in the Rabbis, Lightfoot, p. 264; Wetstein, p. 256), yet the exact idea and almost the

Verbally, Jesus is nothing more than the literal repeater of the Baptist's watchword; but a fictitious transference of this watchword from John to Jesus is naturally much less probable than such a transference from Jesus to John.[1] Whether the meaning attached to this cry by Jesus was the same as that attached to it by John or not, two very important results followed from this initial utterance. In the first place, Jesus hid his party colour from no one. Cautiously as he may have separated his first appearance and ministry from the Baptist as to both locality and form, prudently as he refrained at first from mentioning the names of the Baptist and of the Baptist's princely suppressor, yet he so thoroughly recognized the correctness of the Baptist's fundamental conception, its appropriateness to the age, its deep hold upon the age, upon the thought and speech and conscience of the nation, that he perpetuated this cry as a sacred, unassailable, divinely prescribed utterance; and notwithstanding his competency to be the creator of a new phrase, he persisted in the use of the old one, at the risk of exposing himself, on the one hand, to the charge of being a mere disciple of John's, and, on the other hand, yet more to the venomous enmity against the revolutionary Johannine tendency.[2] In the second place, by following John in preaching the nearness of the kingdom and in preparing the nation for the kingdom by means of repentance, he refuted at the very outset that conjecture of modern inquiry which opposes the paucity of its sceptical findings to the profusion of the initial sayings, and seeks to establish itself out of the sources themselves—the conjecture, namely, that Jesus at first stood forth only as a clever utterer of detached sayings, maxims, and aphorisms, belonging to different provinces

very expression are to be found there, as Lightfoot, Bertholdt, Ammon, De Wette, and Renan have shown.

[1] See above, Vol. II. Comp. Strauss, p. 197. The second according to Weisse, I. p. 315, Hofmann, Holtzmann, and others.

[2] Jesus does not speak publicly of John until the later Galilean period, Matt. xi. Still more openly at the very beginning of his last visit to Jerusalem, xxi. Of Antipas, Luke xiii. 32.

of daily life, or at most to the province of an illuminated legalism.[1] The undoubted repetition of the kingdom-cry of the Baptist shows that Jesus never occupied himself merely with isolated questions; that, as to his thinking and his purposes, he never lost himself in the periphery, in scattered details, in unsystematic trifling with minutiæ; that, just as his determined self-consciousness was inseparably bound up with the ultimate and highest questions, so in his preaching he had before his mind's eye a complete world, a theoretical world, which he wished to make clearly known, and a practical world which, with the profoundest earnestness and the boldest courage, he endeavoured to fashion; and hence that all the individual questions were merged in the cardinal question, How will the kingdom of heaven come?

But since the complete independence of Jesus from first to last, and his express claim to be the bringer of "news," compel us to conclude that he possessed something peculiar to himself, what, then, was the peculiarity in his preaching of the kingdom and of repentance which distinguished him from John?[2] The fact that the inaugural utterances have been found to be unavailable, by no means leaves us with nothing but the mere assertion of this peculiarity, and with the explanation either undiscoverable or intangible. We have not merely a number of Jesus' utterances concerning the kingdom which belong or which may belong to the first period of his ministry, though by accident they have been preserved to us only in his later addresses, as, e.g., the beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount, in which the complete originality of his standpoint is apparent; it is easy also to discover unmistakable fundamental features of his conception of the universe, features which remain the same amid all the variety of details, and which first make clearly intelligible the

[1] Renan, pp. 71, 81: Premiers aphorismes de Jésus, on which account he is, quite consistently, classed with the Scribes, Simeon the Just, Antigonus of Socho, Jesus Sirach, Hillel, &c. Comp. also Holtzmann, *Syn. Ev.* 1863, pp. 130, &c.

[2] Matt. xiii. 52.

début of Jesus and the rise of a new Messianic movement. Among those features may with certainty be reckoned the unqualified, unreserved faith in God, the recognition of God as the Father of mankind, the voluntary renunciation of earthly things and of anxiety about what is earthly, the rising to the appreciation of the higher moral truths of the Law—features which we find, sometimes broadly laid down and sometimes only indicated, in the Sermon on the Mount, and which afterwards re-appear again and again.[1] Relying on the basis of these thought-kernels, it will be possible to describe Jesus' kingdom of heaven. Whoever wishes to rebut the charge of making an arbitrary selection from the sayings of Jesus, is bound to offer at least some proofs that, as has been or will be pointed out in other departments, so in this department also there existed, or may have existed, development, differences between the earlier and the later.

C.—The Kingdom of Heaven.

Jesus announced the kingdom of heaven.[2] Now and then he substituted for that title the expression, "kingdom of the Father," or "kingdom of God," or quite simply, "the kingdom;" at a later period he also called it his own kingdom.[3] The more recent

[1] That the fundamental conception in v. 3 sqq. is one of the earliest, follows from its purely anticipatory teaching with reference to the kingdom of heaven, and also from the peculiar tone of blessing and of glad tidings that marked Jesus' earliest style of preaching. This is of course not the place to give proofs of the date of the individual passages; the proofs must be sought in the general course of the history itself.

[2] Fleck, *De regno Christi*, 1826, *De regno divino*, 1829, are out of date. On the other hand, comp. Weiffenbach, *Quæ Jesu in regno cœlesti dignitas sit. Syn. sententia exponitur*, Giessen, 1868, p. 5.

[3] *βασιλεία οὐρανῶν*, thirty-two times in Matthew: iii. 2, iv. 17, v. 3, 10, 19 (twice), 20, vii. 21, viii. 11, x. 7, xi. 11, 12, xiii. 11, 24, 31, 33, 44, 45, 47, 52, xvi. 19, xviii. 1, 3, 4, 23, xix. 12, 14, 23, xx. 1, xxiii. 13, xxv. 1. The *βασ. οὐρανῶν* in the Sin., John iii. 5, is hardly original, but a correction from Matt. xviii. 3; comp. Clement, *Hom.* 11, 26. *βασ. θεοῦ* stands four times in Matthew: xii. 28, xix. 24, xxi. 31, 43. In vi. 33, the reading, according to Sin. and Vat. (thus also Tisch.), ought to be *τὴν βασ. καὶ τὴν δικαι. αὐτοῦ*. In xix. 24, the reading *βασ. θεοῦ* should be retained (contrary to Tisch.) on the authority of the best MSS., and also as the more difficult reading (instead of the repeated *β. τ. οὐρ.*). *βασ. πατρὸς*, vi. 10, 33, xxvi. 29. *βασ. υἱοῦ ἀνθρ.*, xiii. 41, xx. 21. Simply *βασιλεία*, xxv. 34.

Gospels, as we saw, have altogether lost the first, the dominant expression, which has, nevertheless, been preserved in the recollection of the Church by means of the first Gospel and its allies.[1] In this expression, in this sphere, in this heaven, Jesus lived quite differently from John; for these words were daily and even hourly upon his lips, and yet more continually in his heart, and fifty times and more are they repeated in the Gospels.[2] The ideas of God and man and himself—whose powerful "I" in the latest Gospel has absorbed into itself the name of the kingdom of God—are to him fused into this comprehensive name as if by a grand renunciation of their own independent existence and proper greatness. This step in advance of John is intelligible chiefly from the novelty of a consciousness that cared less to dwell upon the omnipotent deeds of a God who stood forth in solitary contrast to men, His servants, the dust of the earth, than upon the blessed unification of God and men and the blessed fruit of the communion of God and the creature, a communion that overcame and buried the eternal contrast. In the kingdom of God, that which is above and that which is below stand together; and the fruits of this divine human oneness so completely occupy the foreground in the mind of Jesus, that, whilst in the Old Testament the dominant feature in the conception of the kingdom of God is the sovereignty of God, Jesus connects with that conception chiefly the benefits, the riches, the

λόγος βασ. xiii. 19. εὐαγγ. βασ. xxiv. 14 (the Evangelist, iv. 23, ix. 35). υἱοὶ βασ. viii. 12. Volkmar's conjecture (*Rel. J.* p. 378) that Matthew derived βασ. τοῦ θεοῦ, an expression unusual to him, only from other sources, notably from Luke and Mark, is refuted by the various readings given above, and also by the fact that the passages, xix. 23, 24, xxi. 31, 43, occur only in Matthew, by his independence of Luke in xii. 28 and the context, and finally by the falling away of vi. 33—to which Volkmar appeals—where Matthew has not θεοῦ at all.

[1] Comp. the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, 19, 24. Irenæus, 4, 9, 1; 37, 7. Previously, Just. Mart. *Ap.* I. 15, 16; *Tryph.* 120. Clem. *Hom.* 11, 26. In independent use, Eus. *H. E.* 3, 24, τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἡ γνῶσις. The later authors, Luke, Mark, even Paul and the author of the Revelation, have laid aside this antique, Hebraistic expression as well as analogous ones; comp. Luke xii. 24 and Matt. vi. 26.

[2] If to Matthew's forty-five passages, those that are peculiar to Luke, Mark, or even John, be added—*e. g.* Luke ix. 60, 62, xii. 32, xvii. 20, 21, xix. 12 sqq.; John iii. 3, 5, xviii. 36—the number fifty is more than made up.

blessedness, which the discovered pearl, the unearthed treasure of the kingdom of heaven, pours into the bosom, into the heart of man.[1]

This divine-human unification is not postponed until the next world, the world above, by Jesus, any more than it is by the Old Testament and by John.[2] The healthy, sound, unimpaired religion of the Old Testament, instead of groping in the nebulous obscurity of a super-earthly future, sought above all things to touch the efficient God here upon earth, and believingly ascribed to Him the power and the will to ennoble and lift the world above the weaknesses and wants, the contradictions and antagonisms of its historical existence, to a pitch of divine perfection. This Old Testament faith did not sink below the horizon even in the most helpless, most comfortless periods of the earthly Israel, neither in the Babylonian age, nor in the Syrian, nor in the Roman. Least of all could it be wanting to the consciousness of Jesus, for he was an ardent patriot of the Holy Land, and not only believed—like the ancients and John—in a God who had compassion on His servants, but could, in himself and in others, seize hold of the inner irrepressible longing of the spirits upon earth for the higher blessedness of the union of God and the world.[3]

It is, indeed, possible to collect several apparent evidences to make it probable that Jesus, in his conception of the kingdom of heaven, in reality referred to the next world, the world which again and again hovers before us in the fourth Gospel and in the writings of the Apostle Paul, and which unfortunately as good as exclusively occupies the thoughts of modern Christian piety.[4]

[1] The kingdom of God connects together what is above and what is below, God and man ; comp. Matt. v. 8, 9, vi. 10, xxii. 2, 30, &c. The concluding remark is self-evident. In the Old Testament, the kingdom of God is only the abstract expression for the sovereignty of God ; Jesus fixes and defines essentially the concrete blessings, Matt. v. and xiii.

[2] Comp. Holtzmann, *Gesch. Israels.* II. pp. 405, 406.

[3] For the patriotism of Jesus, comp. Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* I. p. 367.

[4] Comp. only John xiv. 2. Other passages in Paul's writings. Vol. I. pp. 173, 174.

Certainly this Christian leaning towards a kingdom of heaven above has no weaker justification, and rests upon no weaker grasp of faith, than did that of the Old Testament; its justification lies not so much in the disappointment of the ancient Jews and of the ancient Christians with reference to their hope of an earthly kingdom of heaven and of a Christ who should return to the earth, as in the claim of the individual Christian—in the same sense as Jesus claimed for himself to be exalted to heaven in compensation for his death—to be compensated for death and for being irrevocably called away from the development of the earthly kingdom of God, by being made immortal, by being placed for ever in the presence of God and in the super-earthly world of the paternal God.[1] Modern Christianity has, however, to a great extent forgotten that the nervous Biblical faith distinctly placed the kingdom of God upon the earth; that Jesus, in particular, had at first this earthly kingdom alone in mind, taught it, brought it in and defended it with the whole of his mental energy; and that it was the littleness of faith or the superstition of his weak successors that first renounced his great heroic conception.[2]

Let us, however, examine the apparent proofs of a kingdom of heaven above of Jesus and the Christians. Jesus often describes heaven or the heavens as the region of perfection, in contradis-

[1] The disappointment as to the long-expected return of Jesus upon earth to bless men and to raise the dead, can be shown to have strengthened the tendency of thought in the direction of a kingdom of heaven above, a tendency which had shown itself as soon as the Christian began to reflect on his own individual condition, and not merely upon the future of the kingdom of God; comp. 2 Cor. v. 8; Phil. i. 23. The predominant hope of Paul, however, was, that he, with the majority of the Christians, would live to see the kingdom of God and the returning king upon earth, 1 Cor. xv. 51 sqq., xvi. 22; 1 Thess. iv. 15, &c. The only analogy between the teaching of Jesus and the later Christian expectation is the expectation of admission into heaven at his death; for otherwise Jesus always placed the kingdom of God upon earth, so much so that he believed in his own return from heaven to earth.

[2] It was littleness of faith that prevented men from holding fast to Jesus' conviction of a really coming and already come kingdom, in the face of the contradictions and perplexities of experience; it was superstition that disabled men from believing in the presence of the kingdom upon earth without the glorious return, that is, without the signs of heaven (Matt. xvi. 1 sqq.).

tinction to the earth, which is the footstool of God, to the world with its sins, vexations, and evils, to the human creature with its impotence, its transitoriness, its distraction and suicidal devotedness to what is perishable and sensual, and with its lack of goodness. In the heavens, God sits enthroned, the Omnipotent, the Perfect, the only Good; with Him are the angelic hosts, immaterial, enjoying the eternal vision of God, and incessantly occupied with the fulfilment of the will of God; and there are also the holy patriarchs, the living with the Living.[1] There, in the heavens, lie the true treasures of men, in the heavens and above the province of what is earthly, where neither moth nor rust can consume them, and where thieves cannot steal them, will the true riches be gathered together; and there shall the pious see God, be made like the angels, and recline at table with the patriarchs in the kingdom of heaven.[2] But regarding it as possible that Jesus had altogether broken away from the Old Testament conception, that in direct contradiction to all Messianic conceptions he was a Messiah and high-priest of the future eternal, heavenly inheritance, in the sense of the Epistle to the Hebrews, yet it is impossible not to see that in his sayings he spoke as much of a kingdom of earth, or of a kingdom of God, as of a kingdom of heaven; that he announced the approach and the actual advent of the kingdom of heaven; that he prayed for the coming of the kingdom—the second era of the world—and for the fulfilling of God's will upon earth as in the heavens; that he described the kingdom of heaven as a pearl upon earth and as a treasure in the field of the world; that at his departure he himself anticipated his return in order to set up his kingdom, to judge the world, to distribute reward and punishment, to

[1] Footstool, Matt. v. 35; world of vexations, xviii. 7; evil, vi. 34; impotence, v. 36; perishableness, vi. 19; distraction, vi. 24, 25, xiii. 22; lack of goodness, vii. 11, xix. 17; God in the heavens, v. 34, 45, 48, vi. 9; almighty, xix. 26; perfect, v. 48; good alone, xix. 17; angels, vi. 10, xviii. 10, xxii. 30; patriarchs, viii. 11, xxii. 32 (but comp. below, the eschatology).

[2] Treasures, Matt. vi. 19 sqq., xix. 21; seeing God, v. 8. Comp. Wisdom vi. 19, *ἀφθαρσία ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ*. Likeness to angels, Matt. xxii. 30; patriarchs, viii. 11.

bring—in accordance with the Old Testament conception—even the treasures of heaven down to earth, to effect the regeneration of the world, the resurrection of the dead into angelic likeness, and the re-union of the patriarchs and their descendants which was to take place first of all here below.[1]

Thus all existing evidence goes to prove that his kingdom of heaven was a kingdom upon earth; just as, in the Sermon on the Mount, the two expressions stand close together. But, like Daniel, he called it the kingdom of heaven, to distinguish it from the violent and contentious kingdoms of the world, and from the basis of the latter kingdoms, the kingdom of Satan: for the kingdom of heaven was to come from heaven with the powers and signs of heaven, whence had already sprung the preparation for this new great dispensation, viz. the baptism of John; and moreover the kingdom of heaven was to bring into the world divine ordinances, the government of the Great King, commands and obedience, blessing and punishment, judgment and resurrection and renovation of the world, and was to ennoble the earth itself to a likeness to heaven.[2] Though the most complete and drastic interposition of heaven in the destiny of the earth is by no means to be excluded from either the earlier or later conceptions of Jesus, it is quite another question whether he connected with that the specific advent of certain heavenly existences. Weizsäcker is undoubtedly mistaken in supposing that a belief

[1] Terrestrial kingdom, v. 4 (Auth. Vers. v. 5), comp. iii. 10; at hand, actually come, iv. 17, xii. 28; world-era, xiii. 12; prayer for the kingdom and for the fulfilling of God's will, vi. 10; pearl, treasure, xiii. 44, 45; return, judgment, xvi. 27, xii. 36, xxv. 31 sq.; reward upon earth, vi. 2 sqq., comp. Isaiah xl. 10, *ὁ κύριος ἔρχεται· ἰδοὺ, ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ*, ib. lxii. 11; palingenesis, &c., Matt. xix. 28, xxii. 30, viii. 11.

[2] The antithesis, Matt. xx. 25, *οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν*; xxiv. 7, *βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν*; xii. 24 sqq., *βασιλεία τοῦ σατανᾶ*. Comp. moreover the Book of Wisdom, i. 14, *ᾅδου βασιλείον ἐπὶ γῆς*. This sovereignty combined with the kingdoms of the world in the idea of the *βασιλεία κόσμου*, Matt. iv. 8; John xii. 31, xviii. 36; 1 Cor. ii. 8; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Rev. vi. 15, xi. 13, 15, &c. Signs of heaven, Matt. xvi. 1 sqq., xxiv. 30; divine powers, xii. 28; baptism from heaven, xxi. 25; divine ordinances, v. 17 sqq., 35, vii. 21, xii. 50, xv. 3, 13; reward, xvi. 27; heavenly likeness, xi. 23 (comp. xxi. 30), vi. 10; relation to the whole world, v. 13, 14, xiii. 32.

in the descent of heavenly spirits formed a part of Jesus' conception; this view not only altogether overlooks the true ultimate root of the conception in the book of Daniel, but also the complete absence of such a representation from the expressions of Jesus, who says nothing of a return of Moses or of Elijah, and in his earlier sayings nothing of the advent of the Messiah from heaven, and refers only incidentally to the angels at the judgment of the world and to the patriarchs who were to come from heaven or from the grave to live together with their descendants. On the contrary, Jesus expressly and constantly separates heaven and earth, and instead of teaching that the angels shall live upon the earth, he rather insists upon their remaining in heaven, and foretells the angel-like fulfilling of God's will upon earth and by men, and the ultimate likeness of men to angels in the resurrection.[1] There would be much better ground for supposing that the Christian name of the kingdom of heaven was connected with a belief in the return of the Messiah from heaven, nay, with the later belief of Jesus himself in his return with the clouds of heaven and with his retinue of angels who were to execute the judgment of the world.[2] But this supposition would be contradicted by the fact that Jesus had the name of the kingdom of heaven continually upon his lips at the very beginning of his ministry, immediately subsequent to the preaching of John, and long before he—Jesus—had created for his Messiahship, which was threatened by his death, the new, transcendent, eschatological, heavenly support.[3] He was in reality so great, that he made use of this lofty title at a time when his ministry in its aims and its achievements was still intrinsically terrestrial, and when the heavenly which was to come, and which he intended

[1] Weizsäcker, *Untersuch.* p. 337. My *Gesch. Christus*, 3rd ed. p. 43. The return of Elijah is directly excluded by Jesus (contrary to the opinion of the people), Matt. xvii. 11 sqq., xi. 14. The patriarchs, viii. 11; the angels, vi. 10, xviii. 10, xxii. 30; at the judgment of the world, xiii. 49, xvi. 27, xxv. 31.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 64, xxiv. 30; comp. Daniel vii. 13. Comp. also previous note.

[3] Comp. only the passages of the earliest period, Matt. iv. 17, v. 3 sqq., 20 sqq., x. 7.

to bring in, was at least as much a moral world as a world of divine miracle.

The conception of the kingdom of heaven, the terrestrial kingdom, comprehends as such a *universalism*, a *cosmopolitanism* of Jesus; and its antithesis to the great secular monarchies reminds us afresh of this necessary breadth of his range of vision. This proposition will be very welcome to those who make the comprehensive thought of Jesus embrace all the nations of the earth, according to the assertion of the Gospels themselves, notably of the later ones. Jesus did, indeed, believe in his world-wide mission: he brought in the terrestrial kingdom; with the disciples he was the salt of the earth, the light of the world; his field was the world, and he had the right of forgiving sins upon earth. But the seed which he scattered in the world, he sowed nevertheless *only* among the *Jews*, and the light which enlightened the world, he kindled *only* in Israel. The subsequent course of this history will sufficiently show this limitedness of Jesus, and of his conception of the kingdom, as well as his attempts to overpass the limitations; at present it is of importance to notice how altogether genuinely Israelitish was this mixture of breadth and narrowness in the conception of Jesus. This was preponderantly the form in which the ancient prophets thought of the happy future of the nation: Jerusalem, Zion, Israel, should enjoy the glory of God, but the Gentiles, smitten by God or awed by the light of Israel, should preserve eternal peace, or even come with homage to the city of the Great King.[1]

But if Jesus understood the kingdom of heaven to be a terrestrial kingdom, what was his exact and definite attitude towards the Jewish capital question of an earthly, powerful, illustrious Messianic kingdom? Did he look for and announce a material,

[1] Matt. v. 4 [Auth. Vers. v. 5] (Psalm xxxvii. 11, particularly the Holy Land), 13 sq., ix. 6, xiii. 37 sq. The particularism of Jesus is chiefly seen in x. 5 sq., xv. 24 sqq.; comp. generally my *Gesch. Christus*, 3rd ed. pp. 51 sqq. Concerning *φῶς κόσμου* and *or gojim*, comp. only Isaiah xlii. 1 sqq., xlix. 6—23, li. 4 sqq., lx. 1 sqq., lxi. 5 sqq., lxvi. 12 sqq.

or an exclusively spiritual, kingdom of God ?[1] This was practically the vexed question of the Jews, and it is theoretically the vexed question of modern historiography. Reimarus came to the conclusion that Jesus and his disciples sought to establish a worldly Messiahship; Paulus held with Venturini that he wished to effect the political regeneration of the nation by means of their spiritual emancipation and improvement; Hase formerly believed in a transition from the tragical mistake of political Messiahship to a pure spirituality; and Renan finds an oscillation between these two extremes. On the other hand, Reinhard, Hess and Herder, Ammon, Schleiermacher, Ullmann, Weisse, Schenkel, and Weizsäcker, have maintained that the kingdom of Jesus was a moral one, though they have conceded certain accommodations on the part of Jesus to the material mode of conception of the people and the disciples; and even Hase and Strauss have ultimately recognized this moral kingdom, only they—here coming into contact with Paulus—are not prepared to deny altogether that Jesus hoped to effect also an external amelioration, a salvation of the Fatherland by means of the implanted virtues.[2]

This glance at modern views shows that there was unmistakably a material-Messianic feature in the initial attitude of Jesus, but also yet more that the fundamental character of his ministry was undeniably spiritual and moral. Whoever wishes clearly to understand this question, must first of all put the fourth Gospel out of sight, which even Hase, notwithstanding

[1] The Jewish expectation, Origen, *Con. Cels.* 2, 29: ὅτι μέγαν καὶ ἐννάστην καὶ πασ. τ. γῆς καὶ π. τ. ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων κύριόν φασιν οἱ προφ. τὸν ἐπιξημήσοντα. Also the Rabbis, see below, p. 58, note.

[2] Reimarus, *Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger*, 1778, pp. 112 sqq., 144 sqq.; Reinh. XVIII.; Paulus, *Leben J.* I. pp. 2, 104 sqq.; Venturini, I. p. 340; Hase, 5th ed. pp. 88—94; Renan, pp. 272 sqq.; Schleiermacher, pp. 273, 373; Ullmann, pp. 105 sqq.; Weisse, p. 328; De Wette, *Bibl. Dogm.* 3rd ed. §§ 216 sqq.; Schenkel, *Charakterbild*, pp. 137, 215; Weizsäcker, p. 337. Comp. also Hausrath, Holtzmann, Ewald, Pressensé, Längin, Volkmar. Strauss, *L. J.* I. 2nd ed. pp. 546 sqq.; *L. J. für das deutsche Volk.* pp. 229 sq.

the historical character of his criticism in general and here in particular, was never willing to do. In the fourth Gospel, a later Christian consciousness, formed by Greek influences and moreover instructed by the course of events, unreservedly repudiates the terrestrial Messiahship: instead of political freedom, Jesus preaches the spiritual, and instead of force, the truth; he rejects the kingship which the people wish to thrust upon him, and confesses to Pilate that he is king, not of this world, with servants and armies to protect him, but (and herein lies the gist of the matter) king possessing the credential of truth and with dominion over the kingdom of heaven above. Yet unfortunately or fortunately, this Gospel betrays, in the Messianic entry of Jesus, the earlier indestructible tradition and the actual history.[1] In the older Gospels, however, too much importance must not be attached either to the fact of the withdrawal of Jesus from the Johannine agitation as to the kingdom and the covenant, or indeed to the myth of his declining the devil's kingdom of the world; nor must too much importance be attached to the utterances of Jesus, in which he resolutely repudiates an earthly waiting for an earthly kingdom of the future, or refuses to become involved in a controversy about the inheritance of earthly property, or appears, notwithstanding his opposition to earthly kingdoms and rulers, to assert the peaceful continuance of the Roman rule, and even the execution of the righteous will of God by means of Pilate: all this, taken together, although challenging comparison with the open and unreserved language of the Revelation and even of the Apostle Paul, by no means justifies such extreme conclusions.[2] On the contrary, the literal continuation by Jesus of the cry of Daniel and of John leads us to suppose that he does not repudiate the Messianic expectations

[1] John vi. 15, viii. 33 sq., xviii. 36 sqq., xiv. 2 sqq.; also xii. 12 sqq. Hase, p. 92, says that the whole of John's Gospel is an evidence for a purely spiritual Messiah.

[2] Matt. iv. 8 sqq., 12 sqq.; Luke xvii. 20 sq., xii. 13 sqq.; Matt. xx. 25 sqq., xxii. 17 sqq.; Luke xiii. 1 sq.; Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 6, iv. 8, vi. 2, xv. 24; Acts xvii. 7; Rev. i. 5, vi. 15, xi. 15.

of the age. He announces to the poor, sorrowing, and patiently-waiting spirits among the people the consolation of the possession of the terrestrial kingdom; to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, to the twelve tribes, he promises succour, to the disciples twelve thrones, to all posterity a cessation of oppression, violence and persecution, the restoration of a peaceful, happy, terrestrial prosperity in the time of the great regeneration of the world; and to the Gentiles, he threatens divine judgment and punishment. He does not deprive the sons of Zebedee of their hope of being near the throne; he enters Jerusalem with an unreserved ostentation of Messiahship; at his trial, again without any precautionary qualifications, he confesses himself to be the Messiah; on the cross, he is called the king of the Jews; he consoles himself and his followers with the anticipation of his return as Lord of a terrestrial kingdom; and he bequeaths to his disciples an unqualified and persistent faith in the future setting up and restoration of royal power in emancipated Israel.[1] We have here anticipated many details, the full consideration of which must be sought farther on in this history; but the general impression produced by the facts above given is not to be removed by objecting either that Jesus spoke only in figures, or that the disciples degraded his utterances by attaching to them a material meaning. For Jesus was wise enough not to use such figures as would give an impetus to all those national longings and passions, if in reality he wished to produce the contrary effect; and it is doing the Gospels an injustice to charge them with representing the ministry of Jesus as having been the very

[1] Matt. v. 3 sqq.; comp. Psalm xxxvii. 11: οἱ δὲ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι γῆν (*vaanavim jireshu arez*, this, in the Psalm, refers to the Holy Land, in Jesus' words, to the earth, see Matt. v. 13); Matt. x. 6, xi. 22, xv. 24. Thrones, xix. 28 sqq., xx. 20 sqq. Entry, xxi. 1 sqq. Effort to save, xxiii. 37; Luke xix. 11 sqq., 41. Judgment, Matt. xxvi. 64. Title on the cross, xxvii. 37, comp. 29. Return, xvi. 27, xxvi. 29, xxiv. 30 sqq., xxiii. 39, xxvi. 64. Expectation of the disciples, xx. 20 sqq.; Luke xix. 11 sqq., xxiv. 21; Acts i. 6 sqq., iii. 20 sqq. Comp. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 23 sqq., ii. 6. Concerning the Jewish expectation, comp. *Tanch.* f. 87, 2: Duo juga filiis tuis imposuisti, j. legis et j. subjugationis regnorum. Resp. Deus: quic. legi operam dat, is a subj. regn. erit immunis. Schöttgen, p. 117.

opposite of what it actually was: for to those who hold that opinion, the history of Jesus no longer exists. But we shall be speedily carried, as by a longed-for fortunate wind, beyond all such trivial and uncritical reflections, when we simply remember that Jesus could not possibly altogether exclude from his conception of the Messianic kingdom that which, according to both the letter and the spirit of the Old Testament, was an essential, indispensable feature of it.

Thus Jesus did not, and never did, repudiate a kingdom of God clothed in terrestrial materiality; therefore, he never transformed, by a so-called advancement, the material idea of the Messiah into a purely spiritual one. This admits of being ultimately established as a fact, but not merely one-sidedly, otherwise it will be but a half-truth, and, rightly regarded, a whole untruth. In holding the faith above insisted upon, Jesus stood only within the limits of his age; in the main, however, he was in advance of his age; and because he was thus in advance, the Christianity of to-day proclaims him and no one else to be the founder of the kingdom of God, even though that Christianity has long since either left behind or altogether modified the conception of a terrestrial kingdom and of a Messiah who was to return to his terrestrial kingdom.[1] We see three prominent differences between Jesus and his age: his conception of the terrestrial kingdom was quite unlike that of his age; he never sought to set up the earthly kingdom himself or by the power of the sword, the employment of which he forbade; instead of the setting up of this terrestrial kingdom, he found his personal mission entirely in the propagation of spiritual sentiments and virtues which were to bring in the terrestrial kingdom, and to be themselves the pearls of that kingdom, and which, like self-sufficing greatness, could dispense with mere external pomp. The first becomes evident as soon as we see that Jesus, notwithstanding his reference to thrones and earthly recompence in distinct antithesis to the kings and great ones of the earth, pre-

[1] Comp. *Gesch. Christus*, pp. 43 sqq., 84 sqq., 96 sq.

scribed to himself and to his followers, as the great ones in the kingdom of God, the humblest service performed with person, property, and life.[1] Nothing can be adduced against the second, unless it be his entry into Jerusalem at the head of the people, and his purification of the Temple; but he never appealed to the people, never had recourse to force of any kind, never hinted a threat against the Roman rule, and never even predicted its end.[2] He did not renounce either the Holy Land or the city of the Great King, as he called Jerusalem, perhaps not without an allusion to Herod, the false Great King. The glorious days of David and Solomon were ever before his mind's eye; and among the people, and also among the heads of the people, he passed for an Israelitish patriot. But believing more firmly than even the Pharisees in divine providence, he left God to do His own work and to release the people from obedience to the emperor when they had first performed their duty of obedience to God.[3] The third is clearly seen in all his preaching, which seeks the condition, the essence, the blessedness of the kingdom of God in righteousness, in trust in God, in the filial relation to God. It is seen also in the progressive character of his preaching, when he ventured to announce with confidence the actual presence of the kingdom at a time when the Pharisees and Herodians and Romans still remained peacefully and securely established in their seats of authority.[4]

The harmonizing, enigma-solving word in these questions and apparent contradictions has been uttered clearly enough by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount: "Seek first the kingdom and His—the heavenly Father's—righteousness, and all this shall be added unto you."[5] His first reference here is to the

[1] Matt. xx. 20 sqq. [2] Luke xiii. 1 sqq.; Matt. xxii. 17 sqq.

[3] Comp. above, the Philonic representation, in Vol. I. p. 323, after Micah vii. 16. Patriot, Luke vii. 5; Matt. xxii. 16 sq.

[4] Comp. the Sermon on the Mount; then Matt. xii. 28. Schleiermacher, pp. 318, 373 sqq.

[5] Matt. vi. 33, where the correct reading is, *ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασ. καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ* (*πατρὸς ὑμῶν*, verse 32).

taking thought for food and drink and clothing, which the heavenly Father, who is cognizant of human needs, renders superfluous by abundantly bestowing these things upon his just ones and the citizens of the kingdom as a natural and spontaneous addition. But the utterance admits of and demands a universal application: the whole province of material things, of the external life and of the visible world, all payment and distribution and all reimbursement in the lower, earthly sphere of life, such as he afterwards placed before the view of the inquiring disciples, is a supplement, an addition, a complement to the spiritual kingdom of God, which no one is to strive after, no one is to grasp at, no one is to distribute, because it comes of itself, because it comes from God to those who, looking neither right nor left, have directly and earnestly sought the spiritual kingdom of heaven. Strauss makes a correct application of this passage when he says that Jesus regarded as the main thing that which others looked upon as only the condition of the accomplishment of the Messianic redemption, viz., the elevation of the nation to a state of genuine piety and morality.[1] In point of fact it may be said that the idea of the kingdom of God rose higher and higher step by step: to Judas the Galilean, the kingdom was a material one and the means material; to the Baptist, the means were spiritual, while the kingdom still had a strong material colouring; but Jesus found in the spiritual means, the character, end, and aim of the kingdom. We cannot, however, agree with Strauss, who, rejecting his own former and more correct view, now says that Jesus was not anticipating prosperity and dominion as the reward of the amelioration of the people, but that he regarded the spiritual and moral elevation as his sole aim and as true prosperity. Jesus believed in the one as well as in the other, in the cause as well as in the effect, in the spiritual achievement and blessedness as well as in the external reward, and indeed, without any toning down of the conception, in the Messianic reward and success. But, in his view, the

[1] Strauss, pp. 229 sq.

spiritual achievement was never merely the means, but was means and end in one, the end and true prosperity of mankind, and yet also, by divine appointment and without human seeking, the way to external Messianic prosperity.[1] Since the spiritual achievement was to him the end and never merely the means, we are able to-day to make a distinction, to retain the end, the spiritual kingdom of heaven, and to renounce the material kingdom of heaven: only it must not be forgotten that the historical Jesus stood amid the limitations of his surroundings, and in that respect is to be distinguished from modern Christianity, from that which we to-day retain.

Thus to Jesus the spiritual kingdom of God, the spiritual good that came down from heaven, was always the essential as contrasted with the non-essential, the nucleus as contrasted with what was added to it, the thing which was worth striving after as contrasted with that which was to be passively received as it came. This conception plainly dominates the eight beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount. It may be said that, numerically and formally, the promises divide themselves into two equal portions, four and four, belonging respectively to the higher and the lower spheres; for by the first three blessedness, and by the eighth external satisfaction, in the kingdom of heaven, are at least not excluded. This may be; and yet there is here clearly to be seen, both in the prospects held out and in the conditions insisted upon, a higher world in those who are poor in spirit, in the meek, the sorrowing, the persecuted righteous, who are to receive the kingdom of heaven, the terrestrial kingdom, and consolation.[2] In a word, satisfaction for those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, mercy for the merciful, the vision of

[1] Strauss says (p. 230) that in that spiritual and material revival they would find a prosperity which, in itself desirable, at the same time would contain in itself *the natural germs of every kind of external amelioration.* Yet more correctly, more realistically, *Leben J.* II. 2nd ed. pp. 552 sqq. Comp. Hase, who says (p. 94) that by a dissemination of virtue, Jesus wished *both* to save the Fatherland and also to renovate the public national life by his spirit.

[2] Matt. v. 3 sqq. These conceptions will be more fully considered in the next section.

God for the pure in heart, the name of children of God for the peacemakers,—these titles, these promises, as soon as they do but unlock and explain themselves and the veiled secret of the "kingdom of heaven," point with indisputable clearness and as with an outstretched finger beyond the kingdom of the senses to a spiritual kingdom, to a condition of spiritual blessedness. That which is seen in the beatitudes, is seen again and again to the end: the kingdom of God is intrinsically righteousness, the fulfilling of the will of God on earth as in heaven, the angelic perfection of human life; and the Apostle Paul, without denying the Messianic addition, has defined, exactly in the spirit of Jesus, the essence of the kingdom of God as being, not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.[1]

The most important benefits of the kingdom of heaven have been defined as spiritual and moral gifts and acquisitions. This, however, is but a superficial description. It is true that the most prominent of those gifts—righteousness—does not at once admit of a different explanation.[2] For this fundamental conception and requirement of the Old Testament, which can be traced from the history of Abraham the righteous down to Isaiah's prophecies of the righteousness lost by Jerusalem and Israel, but to be recovered in the Messianic age,—this fundamental conception also of the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Baptist, signified in the mouth of Jesus nothing else than the actual fulfilling of the whole range of moral ordinances as they had been prescribed by the legal relation between God and men, between God and the people of Israel, but had not been completely practised, had been sometimes only formally obeyed, sometimes made the objects of a mere loving yearning, until God himself, in the days of the future, should in His creative capacity, like a new sun, by the gift of His Spirit and of knowledge, bring in salvation, healing and righteousness, human virtue

[1] Matt. v. 20, vi. 1, 10, 33, vii. 21, xxii. 30; Rom. xiv. 17.

[2] Matt. iii. 15, v. 6, 20, vi. 1, 33.

and divine justice.[1] But in this genuinely Isaianic conception of the new divine impartation and creation of righteousness with which those who hunger and thirst after righteousness are to be satisfied in the kingdom of heaven, Jesus already went essentially beyond the favourite views of his nation and of his time, particularly of the Scribes, Pharisees, and Essenes, who regarded righteousness as a purely human and humanly possible thing, and who, both externally righteous and self-righteous, boasted of their great and superlative deeds. He discerned and measured sharply and soberly and modestly the limits of human achievements, which needed the indulgence of God; and looking away from what was human, he fixed his faith, his hope, his reliance, only upon God: only by the power of God would man accomplish his destiny and fully develop his nature.[2] He appears, however, at first sight to be still standing on Jewish ground, representing the highest attainable end of man even in the kingdom as performance, obedience, fulfilling the divine commandment, with the only difference, that this is now done with God's help, while formerly it was attempted without that help: God is and remains the Lord; man is the servant of God, the servant that stands at a distance from God, the servant who as such in servile lowliness discharges his obligation towards the High, the Sublime, the Unattainable One, and

[1] Genesis xv. 6; Deut. ix. 4 sqq.; Psalm i. 5 sq.; Prov. ii. 9 sqq., iii. 33. In the plural, Tobit ii. 14. The conception, in several modifications, occurs frequently in Isaiah. Human righteous performances, *e. g.*, Isaiah i. 21, xlviii. 18, li. 1, 7, liv. 14, lviii. 2, lxiv. 6 (attempted, li. 1; failure, lix. 9 sqq., lxiv. 6). Divine righteous performances, xl. 29, xli. 10, xlvi. 13, li. 5 sq. One conditioning the other, lvi. 1, lix. 9. Then God approaches, lviii. 2. A production of God acting as Creator, lviii. 8, lxi. 10. When the spirit of God is imparted, then righteousness, xxxii. 15 sqq. Comp. Wisdom ii. 11, *νόμος δικαιοσύνης*. Concerning the Pharisees, &c., see the sections in Vols. I. and II. on the Pharisees, the Essenes, the Preacher in the Wilderness, and the Baptism of Jesus.

[2] The divine implantation of the true human righteousness is plainly taught in Matt. v. 6, vi. 33. But a human struggling and striving is, at the same time, in a genuinely ethical manner postulated. Comp. the similarity between Jesus and John, Vol. II. p. 250.—It may be incidentally remarked that the righteousness which God is expected to bestow (Matt. v. 6) is not the Isaianic divine righteous performance in Israel, but altogether a production of human righteousness.

looks for the divine reward of such service. But no; while Jesus seems to be still a Jew, he has in the same moment discovered *his own* religion, and has left behind him not only the whole system of Judaism, but even John also.

Righteousness itself, which is numbered among the spiritual possessions of the kingdom of heaven, is to Jesus more than simply the conformity of the creature to the will of the obedience-claiming and exalted God; it, the implantation of God in human nature, is more than mere humanity, mere virtue in human form; it is the attainment of the divine nature and life, the harmony of the human life with the divine life, the penetration of humanity into the divine perfection and its saturation with that perfection. To seek righteousness and to possess it as a gift of God, means, according to the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, and indeed of the teaching of Jesus generally, to be perfect as God is perfect; it is the reproduction in human form, not only of angelic life, but of divine perfection.[1] This new and marvellous idealism in the expectation and delineation of the spiritual possessions of the kingdom, breaks forth at once in a series of beatitudes. In one is promised, as a future possession of the kingdom of heaven, the consolation of God; in another, his compassion; in another, still more—the name of children of God; and in another, the consummation of all—the vision of God. To some extent, all this might be explained from the lower Jewish standpoint, to which, notwithstanding its rigid distinction between God and man, there was by no means wanting the reverse side—the condescension of God to creature-dust and the elevation of the dust to the glory of God. Isaiah spoke copiously enough of consolation and forgiveness; Hosea saluted the Israel of the future as the sons of the living God; and Moses the servant and Isaiah looked upon God their Lord.[2] But these

[1] Matt. v. 48, comp. vi. 10, xxii. 30. *Sot.* f. 14, 1, Imitari decet mores Dei. Schöttgen, p. 221.

[2] Comp. Isaiah xl. 1 sqq.; Hosea i. 10; Exodus xxxiv. 28 sqq.; Numbers xii. 8, &c.; Isaiah vi. 5.

Old Testament resemblances by no means suffice to explain the beatitudes of Jesus with their mysterious and manifold approximation of God and men; least of all do they suffice to explain that looking upon God which, far superior to the visions of Moses and Isaiah, is a continual fearless gaze, a copy of the continuous beatific vision and knowledge of the angels in heaven. Moreover, all the surroundings, the whole religious universe of Jesus, which cannot be either distributed among different dates or ascribed to later times, exhibit simply a higher class of conceptions, on the part of Jesus, of the nature and of the communion of God and men.[1]

The religious universe of Jesus may be thus briefly described: The fatherhood of God for men; the sonship of man for God; and the eternal spiritual possession of the kingdom of heaven will be this fatherhood and sonship. It is true, the conceptions of Jesus grow out of the Old Testament, as has been already abundantly seen in the case of his conception of righteousness, apparently an old but in reality a new conception: he clings in many respects to the Old Testament idea of God, and still more to the Old Testament mode of expression. He calls Him "God," the Lord of heaven and of earth, the Creator of all things, the Great King throned in the heavens where the angels look upon His face, and making use of and controlling the earth as His footstool.[2] He is fond of dwelling upon God's absolute right of disposing all events, His unlimited power, and the unchangeable necessity of His ways; and he delights to magnify these heights of the Divine nature, ability, and will, by contrasting them with the helplessness and the physical, spiritual, and moral poverty of man.[3] In antithesis to the great God, man stands in the rank of

[1] This is not to be compared with the appearing before the face of God (nireh et-pene Jahveh) in the Old Testament (comp. Exodus xxxiv. 23; Psalm xvii. 15, xlii. 2), *i. e.* the appearing before the holy place and in the temple. Rather, therefore, with Matt. xviii. 10. More fully when treating of that passage.

[2] God, Matt. v. 34, xix. 26; Lord, xi. 25; King, v. 35; Creator, xix. 4; throne, footstool, v. 34 sq., xxiii. 22, xviii. 10.

[3] *εὐδοκία*, Matt. xi. 26; *ἐξουσία*, Luke xii. 5; *δυνάμενος*, Matt. x. 28, xix. 26; necessity, xxvi. 39, 54. Comp. "given," xiii. 11, xvi. 17, xix. 11.

the creatures, and indeed of creatures of the earth, distinguished by a great gulf from the angels, the immaterial spirits, the eternal witnesses of the Divine countenance. Man is flesh and blood with a spark of the divine spirit; he is feeble in his capacity for knowledge, feeble in willing to do good, a servant before God seeking his reward and profit from God, and receiving for his good and his evil deeds recompence and punishment even to the tormenting of body and soul in hell.[1] There is in truth not one of these propositions which could not have been propounded by Jews and particularly by Pharisees. But, together with the old, there is heard another—the new—strain. This God possesses an intrinsic resemblance to man. He has a spiritual nature; He thinks, discerns, and wills; like man, He is in some way bound to the law of good; He himself is the Good.[2] This man possesses an intrinsic resemblance to God. Even the lowest creature, the very flower, as if it were itself a spirit in a material garb, enjoys a glory which is a reflection of the Divine glory, and a divine preserving care which is the expression both of its right to exist and of its dignity.[3] But man is more, much more than they all, and therefore is lord of them all.[4] His soul, his spirit, that in him which is highest, the loss of which would be irreparable, that for which the whole world would be no equivalent, is immortal, while the creatures and the bodies die; he is capable of light and in need of light both inwardly and outwardly, from his heart to his actions; and he finds rest only in God.[5] Things which have so much in common, must live together. God is mindful of His creatures and sustains them, especially man; He persistently manifests His goodness and compassion, even to the sinner, to

[1] Angels, Matt. vi. 10, xviii. 10, xxii. 30; flesh and blood, xvi. 17, xxvi. 41; physical weakness, v. 36, vi. 27; moral weakness, xix. 26, xxvi. 40 sq.; defective in knowledge, xi. 25, xiii. 11, xvi. 17; reward, punishment, x. 28, xvi. 26 sq.

[2] Spirit, x. 20, xii. 28, xxii. 43; thinking, xvi. 23, xi. 26 sq.; willing, xxvi. 39; Mark xiv. 36; law, Matt. xxvi. 39; the good, xix. 17, comp. v. 48, also 8.

[3] Matt. vi. 29 (comp. v. 16). Guardian care, x. 29, xii. 11 sq.

[4] Matt. vi. 26, xii. 12; comp. vi. 30.

[5] Highest, Matt. xvi. 26; immortal, x. 28; capacity for light, vi. 22 sq., xv. 19, comp. ix. 4, xii. 34; rest, xi. 29.

whom He sends sun and rain; He inclines His ear to prayers and His eye looks upon pious services; He forgives, and is a Shepherd who allows none of His lambs to be lost, and rejoices more over one that is recovered than over ninety-nine that have not strayed.[1] He is willing to give life, to distribute blessedness, to make an everlasting covenant with men, as He did with the patriarchs, and to bring them to a likeness to the angels and to Himself.[2]

The crown of these views is the paternal and filial relationship between God and man. This is the Alpha and Omega of the Sermon on the Mount, the new sun in the heaven of humanity, the gentle spring-zephyr in the spring ministry of Jesus, full of sweet suggestiveness. A dozen times and oftener does this relationship re-appear, disclosing its most ravishing charms, and, by placing the exalted God and the near and intimate Father side by side, producing alternating emotions of awe and transport.[3] It is the anchor of all the security and of all the joy of life, the support of all faith, of all hope, of all activity. Sometimes it invites to the most ardent prayer, sometimes to the firmest reliance upon the providence and care, the giving and the forgiving, of Him who is in the heavens; sometimes it urges to the most exalted activity, an activity which would emulate that of the Father and would reflect His glory upon earth. Like a new-found, like a re-found treasure which one has and yet has not, because one is in doubt as to its actual possession and as to the right to possess, it is again and again thrust into man's hand with personal, importunate, coercing dedication, a durable, actual, inalienable property: Your Father, thy Father, our Father.[4] The meaning of the phrase far exceeds

[1] Preservation, Matt. vi. 26, 30, x. 29 sq.; sinners, v. 43 sqq.; prayers, vii. 7 sqq.; services, vi. 1 sqq.; forgiveness, vi. 12, xviii. 23 sqq.; shepherd, xviii. 12 sqq.

[2] Life, Matt. vii. 14, xix. 16 sqq.; patriarchs, xxii. 32; likeness to angels, verse 30; likeness to God, v. 8, 9, 48.

[3] Comp. Matt. vi. 26, 30.

[4] Matt. v. 16, 45, 48, vi. 1, 4, 6, 9, 14, 15, 18, 26, 32, vii. 11. Your Father, v. 16, 45, 48, vi. 1, 14 sq., 26, 32, vii. 11; thy Father, vi. 4, 6, 18; our Father,

that of provident "Creator," though here and there it is used with primary reference to God's preserving care exercised towards the higher and lower creatures.[1] In the first place, God is the Father only of men, not of the birds of the air; in the next place, He is the Father who not only creates and preserves, but is ever watchful, full of benevolence, and takes delight in the well-being of His children; and finally, He is the Father whose will it is to develop men into a likeness to Himself in nature and work, to make them glad and active beholders of and participators in His greatness and glory.[2] The phrase has far more than a merely figurative meaning. Though it may be naturally called a figurative transference of idea from the sphere of the creature to that of the Creator; though in isolated passages a condescending comparison of God with earthly fathers may underlie it; yet to speak of it, as Weizsäcker does, as nothing more than a simile based on the institutions of nature, is an unjustified weakening of its sense: for God is Father absolutely, not merely *like* a father; in antithesis to earthly fathers, He is a second, a higher, the heavenly Father; He is assigned to men as "their" Father, more decisively, more inseparably than are their earthly fathers; and finally, in an incontestable manner, He is presented to men as allied to them by nature, as—if one may so speak—related to them by blood.[3] This new Godhead, this new manhood, still belonged, it is true, at the time when Jesus was teaching, to the future: the kingdom of heaven *will* give the vision of God's countenance, the privileges of the sons of God, the divine forgiveness, consolation, recompence, the great inheritance.[4] But what is to be, is nevertheless already in

vi. 9; instigation to prayer, vi. 9, vii. 7 sqq.; to trust, vi. 1—6, 14—18, 26, 32; to likeness of God and to striving after it, v. 45, 48, vi. 14 sq.; to the glorification of God, v. 16.

[1] Matt. vi. 26, 32.

[2] Father of men, vi. 26, 30. Comp., against Wittichen, my *Gesch. Christus*, p. 39. Divine care, Matt. x. 30; gifts, vii. 11; joy, xviii. 13; fellowship, v. 16, 48.

[3] Comparison, Matt. vii. 11. See also the passages quoted above. Weizsäcker, p. 346.

[4] Matt. v. 3 sqq.

existence; it lies as a seed-corn in the age; it is already growing in the then present time. Especially is "the Father" already there in the heavens, and only awaits His sons; He *is* the Father, and they *shall become* sons; but they are also to become sons now, to-day, in the time then current, by trusting in Him who is their Father, and by acting as their Father acts.[1] Thus presentiments and predictions of the future benefits force themselves impressively, irresistibly into the present, into the very midst of the earthly life: the mentally seen and realized future is an acquisition of the spirits of men, an acquisition upon which they, regardless of the barriers of time, are already feeding, in order in the present to secure for themselves the future, with its infallibility and its glory.

What Jesus announced as the spiritual acquisitions of the kingdom of heaven, had been announced by no mortal lips before his coming; and he himself was aware of this, even though he poured out his gifts so unpretentiously as old and current truths.[2] The illusion must be at once renounced that he preached a Hellenistic view of the universe, though resting upon a Jewish basis. Formerly, and again quite recently, many things have been said about the Hellenism of Jesus. There was, however, no connection between Jesus and Hellenism, and the latter will never explain him.[3] It is true, we know that Zeus was called the Father of gods and men; and we know something of the human characteristics of the Olympian gods and of their favourites belonging to our race. Further, we are acquainted with that philosopheme of the Hellenes which grew out of such a religious and ideal tendency, and which found its way through Plato and the Stoics to the Romans, and was not despised by even the Apostle Paul: Man is of divine extraction; he is the likeness, the friend, the relation, the fellow-citizen, the

[1] Matt. v. 45, 48.

[2] Comp. Matt. xiii. 17 *and* 52. Consciousness of novelty, xi. 27. Even the Neoplatonists recognize this; Porphyry, in Aug. *Civ. D.* 19, 23.

[3] Strauss, pp. 207 sq. Comp. *Gesch. Christus*, pp. 74 sq. See above, Vol. II. p. 162.

effluence, the son, of God.[1] We know the fine sentences of Seneca's: The gods are full of gentleness and friendliness; they do everything for our good; nay, for our good they have purposely created all good things, and provided everything for us beforehand. What they have, they confer upon us,—that is *their* use of things; and as the protecting lords of the human race, they are unwearied in distributing their gifts by day and night.[2] We are beloved by them as the children of their bosom; like affectionate parents, they smile even at the invectives of their little ones; they heap benefit upon benefit incessantly; they give before we ask; they continue to give though we are unthankful, and even though we cry defiantly, "We will have nothing from them; let them keep for themselves what they possess!" Their sun also rises upon the wicked; the seas spread themselves out for the pirates. The gods are easily appeased, are never inexorable, and how unhappy should we be were they otherwise![3] Again: The way of the man in whom the godlike spirit dwells, leads upwards to the gods, who condescendingly and ungrudgingly reach out the hand to help us in our ascent. No temple is needed, not even the lifting of the hands towards heaven: God is near thee; the holy spirit, the watcher over good and evil, who leads us to God and leads us back to Him when we wander, is with thee.[4] It must, indeed, be acknowledged that this Greek idealism yielded many blossoms full of a presentiment of the truth, many buds capable of developing into truth, nay, many immediate resemblances to the very words of Jesus; but that in

[1] Acts xvii. 28. Cicero, *Leg.* 1, 7, 8. Seneca, *De prov.* 1, Amicitia, necessitudo, similitudo cum Diis. Ὁμοίωμά τι θεῷ, Plutarch, *De gen. Socr.* 17; *De ser. num. vindicta*, 5. εἰκὼν θεοῦ, after Diogenes the Cynic, Lucian, *Pro imag.* 28. υἱὸς θεοῦ. Epict. *Diss.* 2, 5, 10. Comp. Zeller, *Phil. Griech.* III. 1, p. 402. Zeus, πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, Iliad, 1, 544.

[2] Seneca, *De ira*, 2, 27; *De benef.* 6, 23; 2, 29; 4, 5; *Epist.* 73, 95.

[3] Seneca, *De benef.* 2, 29; 4, 4, 26; 7, 31; 6, 23; *De clem.* 1, 7; *Epist.* 31, 110. Comp. especially the passage which recalls Matt. v. 45, *De benef.* 4, 26: Si Deos imitaris, da et ingratis beneficia; nam et sceleratis sol oritur et piratis patent maria. Comp. also the passages in Plutarch, *De superstit.* 4, 6, 13; *De defect. orac.* 7, &c.

[4] Seneca, *Epist.* 73; comp. 31, 66, 41, 95.

it which has the sweetest sound is never actually a truth, a vivifying, joy-producing faith, but only a transient effervescent inspiration, or a pretty display of rhetoric intended merely to ward off the reproach that "the gods were without heart and head." It was never the expression of sincere faith, because the necessary basis was wanting; on the one hand, belief in the Godhead sank into a faith in heroic men; on the other hand, faith in human nature was lost in the terrified belief in gloomy destiny; and over the double abyss only fancy played with the platitudes about "the paternal gods" and "godlike men," phrases which were scarcely tolerated in prosperity, and were answered by scorn and suicide in adversity.[1]

The religion of the Old Testament stands much higher in this respect. While it speaks distinctly of the Godhead and of the absolute dependence of the creature, it nevertheless does not sacrifice the dignity of man. In the completest realism, it harbours the highest idealism. It believes in the image of God, in the legal relationship between God and His nation, and calls the latter the son of God, His first-born, His bride, and His spouse. It also describes the relationship between God and the king of Israel as that of Father and son.[2] In the most troublous times, it clings to the conviction that Israel cannot perish, because the honour of God was bound up with that of Israel.[3] On the contrary, it anticipates a future in which the spirit and the power and the authority of God in the world will be concentrated in the chosen king of Israel, and the nation shall enjoy to the last, both sacerdotally and regally, the presence of the glory of God.[4] Thus in the later writings particularly, in the second part of

[1] Seneca, *De mort. Claud. lud.* 8: Stoicus Deus nec cor n. caput habet. The comfortless scepticism everywhere in Seneca himself. In the form of despair, Pliny, *Hist. nat.* 2, 5.

[2] Image, Gen. i. 26 sq.; Wisdom ii. 23; legal relation, Exodus xix. 5 sq.; son, first-born, Exodus iv. 22; Hosea xi. 1; bride, spouse, Hosea ii. 19; Jer. iii. 20; Ezekiel xvi. 8; king = son, 2 Sam. vii. 14; Psalm ii. 7, 12 (comp. Hitzig on the passage).

[3] Deut. iv. 31 sqq.; Joel ii. 27; Isaiah xl. 27, li. 5 sqq., lxiii. 16, lxiv. 12.

[4] Isaiah xi. 1 sqq., ix. 6 sqq., lxi. 6, lxvi. 21; Joel ii. 28 sqq.

Isaiah, in the Psalms, the paternal designation of God appears more prominently and with a fuller significance than in the earlier writings. It is the nation that cries to God in Isaiah, "Thou art our Father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel (Jacob) doth not acknowledge us."[1] But the individual member of the nation also takes the great name into his mouth: "Thou art my Father, my God, and my Saviour." And the word is used with reference to the pious: "Like as a father pitieth his children, so God pitieth them that fear Him."[2] In the time of the composition of the Book of Sirach, in the time of Philo and of the composition of the Book of Wisdom, when the choicest teachings of the Jewish and Greek views of the universe were already being placed side by side, the name becomes much more frequent; man appears simply as the bearer of the features of relationship to the Father, and the pious man and the philosopher are called the true sons of God, and are said to be of equal birth with, and companions of, the Logos, the second God.[3] Slowly but surely did the new and higher conception of the universe thus penetrate into Jewish soil, the conception which was to be crowned by the teaching of Jesus; the epithet "son of God" passed from being a national to be a personal title, from being a title of protection to be one of relationship, from being a mere title to be a reality. But surely, as these conceptions grew and progressed in Israel, and undoubtedly as Jesus himself was influenced by them, it is nevertheless easy to recognize the timidity with which they advanced as compared with the unhesitating confidence that marked the utterances of Jesus, and to see also in that timidity the evidence of an impure admixture with the earlier belief in God which refused to be broken down until it was broken down by Jesus.[4] When Isaiah or the

[1] Isaiah lxiii. 16, lxiv. 8; Jer. iii. 4, 19; Mal. ii. 10; Deut. xxxii. 5, 6.

[2] Psalm lxxxix. 26, ciii. 13.

[3] Ecclus. xxiii. 1, li. 14 [A. V. verse 10]; Wisdom ii. 13 sqq., v. 5, xi. 11 [A. V. verse 10], xvi. 21. Philo, see above, Vol. I. pp. 289 sqq.

[4] That Jesus was affected by these influences, see Matt. viii. 12, xv. 26, xxi. 28.

Psalms attempt to explain and illustrate the conception, they invariably decline into a description of the Lord, the Creator and Protector on the one hand, and of human dust and divine handiwork on the other; or, like the Hellenes, they treat the conception of "the Father" as a mere figure borrowed from human relationships.[1] In the book of Sirach, also, the Father is only *like* a father; he is in truth the Lord and the God. To Philo, He is the maker and fashioner of the world and of men; and to the divine threat to punish Solomon after the manner of men, Philo is compelled to add the explanation that it was uttered solely for the instruction of the multitude.[2] It was just the same among the Rabbis.[3] The prevailing conception of the Old Testament to the end is that of the Lord and his servants; the higher conception is imperfectly developed in thought, in faith, and in practice; it awaits its perfection, its deliverance, and the deliverer came in the person of Jesus.

A careful consideration of all this will enable us to realize the general character of Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of heaven: it is on the whole a preaching of joy and jubilee for mankind, whether we have regard to what it at once offered or to what it promised in the immediate future. It is a preaching of salvation, deliverance, life, blessedness, in very deed a good and joyous message, as Jesus himself, borrowing Isaiah's words, calls it.[4] Hence the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount pours out a shower of beatitudes; and only the morose world-hating Ebionite of Luke's source is able to break up the eight beati-

[1] Isaiah lxiii. 16, lxiv. 8; Psalm lxxxix. 26. The Creator-conception also in Hosea viii. 14; Mal. ii. 10; Deut. xxxii. 6. Mere comparison, Deut. i. 31, viii. 5; Psalm ciii. 13; Isaiah xlix. 15, lxvi. 13; comp. 2 Sam. vii. 14; Ecclus. iv. 10.

[2] Ecclus. iv. 10, xxiii. 1, li. 14 [A. V. verse 10]. Philo, see above, Vol. I. pp. 292 sq.; comp. particularly *Q. Deus s. immut.* p. 301, *πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εἰδασκαλίαν εἰσάγεται.* Similarly, Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 8, 24.

[3] Israel the spouse of God, mother, sister, dove, Schöttgen, p. 129. *Pirke Ab.* 3, 14: Dilecti sunt Israelitæ ex eo quod *vocati sunt* filii Dei. Comp. above, Vol. I. p. 340, note 1. Also Lightfoot, Gfrörer, Tholuck, Kamphausen on the Sermon on the Mount. Wittichen, *Idee Vaters*, 1865, *Idee d. Menschen*, 1868.

[4] Matt. xi. 5, xxvi. 13, xxiv. 14; Isaiah xl. 9, lxi. 1.

tudes into four blessings and four woes, with the result that the bitterness of the second quartette completely neutralizes the sweetness of the first. In this respect, the cry of Jesus differs altogether from that of his predecessor, the Baptist, with which however it challenges comparison rather than with that of Moses and the Scribes, with which Luther has ingeniously classed it. John also preached salvation, a Messiah, and a Messianic community; and Luke even converts the Baptist into an Evangelist; yet John preached above all the divine severity and anger, fire and judgment, and he never used the term blessedness for the salvation of the saved out of the fire. So far did he still stand on the ground of Moses, Elijah, and Ezra, that he believed in the severe and jealous God and the unworthy trembling servant, who in the day of the Lord with difficulty finds grace and mercy. In this respect it is a spiritual world of a different character which is proclaimed by him who, judging from his initial cry, appears to be following completely in the footsteps of the Baptist. It is true, resemblances to the Baptist are not altogether wanting: Jesus also describes the day of the coming of the kingdom of heaven as a day of storm and tempest, of judgment and fire, and he therefore, like John, insists upon repentance; but, nevertheless, the joyous, blissful glance and tone everywhere predominate, especially in the early period; and in the Sermon on the Mount the beatitudes and the new and exalted features of the service of God are very characteristically placed first, while the anxieties, the terrors of the future are placed last, as if mentioned merely by way of admonition.[1]

There remain the questions, *When* did Jesus expect the kingdom of heaven, and *why* did he so expect it? By pointedly announcing the kingdom as approaching and God as drawing nigh, Jesus kept the kingdom of heaven suspended between the future and the present, and at once denied that the kingdom had already appeared among the Jews even in the most brilliant

[1] Matt. vii. 24 sqq. Cast into the fire, later, xiii. 40.

periods of the history of Israel.[1] The references to the future predominate. The beatitudes point entirely to future prosperity. The opening sentence, "Theirs is the kingdom of heaven," sounds indeed as if he would offer and confer something present, something already actual, tangible; but the explanations follow,— "They shall inherit the earth, they shall be comforted, be filled, obtain mercy, see God, be called the children of God." This future tense pervades the whole sermon: the coming of the kingdom is prayed for; a future admission into the kingdom of heaven is spoken of, and a future decision of the Lord of the kingdom with reference to such admission; and finally reference is made to future catastrophes. This mode of expression is continued also elsewhere than in the Sermon on the Mount.[2] At the same time, the kingdom is *at hand*, as the watchword of Jesus directly shows, and as is suggested and indicated by the constant repetition of the name, by the continuous looking for coming blessings and calamities, by the admonition to be prepared, and by the prayer for the advent of the kingdom.[3] But how is it that the kingdom appears to be future and yet close at hand? These two facts are not to be explained merely by Jesus' imitation of the Baptist, nor yet merely by his foresight, reticence, or prudence; but by his own peculiar conception of the kingdom and his own innermost self-consciousness. For here he follows John with as little servility as elsewhere; and he never acts from motives that are merely prudential, though he might keep alive the Messianic agitation by means of the phrase that had become proverbial, or mislead those who were lying in wait by concealing the immediately impending cata-

[1] With ἤγγικε, comp. besides *higgia* (see above, p. 42, end of note), the Hebrew *karob*, *kirbat elohim*, Isaiah lviii. 2 (the LXX., erroneously, ἐγγίζειν θεῷ); comp. Psalm lxxiii. 28. The watchword, *karob hajom*, Joel ii. 1; Isaiah xiii. 6; Ezekiel vii. 7; Zeph. i. 14; comp. Isaiah xl. 9, 10. The sentences referring to the future show plainly that the kingdom had not previously existed; it was at most only prepared for, Matt. viii. 11, 12, xxi. 33.

[2] Matt. v. 3 sqq., 19 sq., vi. 10, vii. 21 sqq., viii. 11, x. 7.

[3] Matt. iv. 17, v. 3 sqq., vi. 13, vii. 24 sqq.

strophe, or repeatedly win for himself and the people a short probation. His reason for teaching the futurity of the kingdom was on the whole that of John: like him, Jesus could not make the kingdom of heaven dependent on the actions of men, not even on his own actions, but simply on God's omnipotent will that causes the times to go and come, that would bring to pass the storm and the sunshine of the last days, the blessings together with the "things added," and the judgment.[1] But his motives for directing attention to the near approach of the kingdom of heaven were certainly different from those of the Baptist. The latter regarded it as a point of honour with God no longer to suffer the degradation of His people; Jesus knew nothing of any question of honour on the part of God with reference to the nation, but to him it was a question of the heart between God and His human creatures. He felt it to be a necessity that the fatherliness of God, in which he believed, should be practically revealed without delay, without a cold, hard, procrastinating waiting until perfection were actually attained, and that the human filial yearning with its ardour and its pangs should find speedy satisfaction. This view of the motive of Jesus' proclamation of the nearness of the kingdom certainly strikes the most vital part of his preaching and of his idea of the universe; and when it is remembered that Jesus found already upon the scene the susceptible minds which the Baptist had been anxious to prepare to enter into possession immediately and at once of the gifts of their Father, and first of all His forgiveness—viz., the poor in spirit, the long-suffering, the meek, those that hungered after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers—his preaching of the near, the immediate future of the kingdom of heaven, a future so near that it impinges upon the present, becomes much more intelligible. And yet more fully is this the case, when it is also remembered that he saw the sunbeams of the Divine fatherliness already breaking through the clouds with light and warmth, and enlightening and cheering his

[1] Comp. Matt. vi. 33, xi. 26, xix. 26.

hearers themselves, at the very moment when he was beginning to proclaim it.[1]

But we must not forget a last and mysterious point: in a most forcible and unquestionable manner, the kingdom of heaven was transferred from a distant to an immediate future, to the very present, by the *self-consciousness of the man* who did not, like John, vaguely and without sure guidance grope after the coming deliverer, but who knew that he himself was that deliverer, though he veiled himself before the people, and though the Divine Providence veiled him in part even from himself. We have already sought this higher self-consciousness of Jesus at his baptism, among other reasons because thus alone can we explain his public appearance together with and after John, and because, as Weisse also sees, there is no point in the ministry of Jesus that can dispense with this self-consciousness; but chiefly because it is impossible to describe his beginnings—the beginnings of a ministry as brief as it was intense—as an uncertain groping and feeling after and experimenting, without disparagement to his person and his work.[2] That from the beginning to the end he was pleased to speak of himself only as a scribe, a teacher, a leader, or in some sort as a prophet and indefinitely a lord, is no proof of the absence of this higher self-consciousness; he thus spoke of himself out of humility, and it was out of discretion that he hid his real character, and because he waited for the verdict of God and of men.[3] He nevertheless gave early indications of his higher nature by calling himself greater than the temple, a lord of the Sabbath, and one who was authorized to exercise the divine prerogative of forgiving sins. In the Sermon on the Mount, he speaks of himself, with his disciples, as being

[1] Matt. v. 3 sqq., 45 sqq., vii. 21, xii. 50.

[2] Comp. above, Vol. II. A gradual and late-developed consciousness of Messiahship, in Strauss, Schenkel, Weiffenbach. On the other hand, Weisse, I. p. 318; Hausrath, I. p. 424; Holtzmann, II. p. 353; comp. Albaric, Pressensé (p. 327); my *Gesch. Chr.* p. 80.

[3] Teacher, Matt. x. 24 sq., xxiii. 8, 10 (διδάσκαλος, καθηγητής), xxvi. 18; scribe, xiii. 52; lord, x. 24; prophet, v. 12, x. 41, xiii. 57, xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 33 sq.

the salt of the earth, a light of the world, a fulfiller, not a destroyer, of Moses and the prophets, of the religious basis of the nation of Israel.[1] And especially did he sum up his claims at the beginning in that mysterious name by which he preferred to designate himself to the last—the name by which Volkmar thinks he was first designated by Mark, or perhaps by Peter—the name of *Son of Man*.[2] It may be objected to our appealing to this name, that the condition of our sources prevents us from guaranteeing Jesus' employment of this name at the beginning of his ministry, and that, in the most favourable case, the name is obscure and equivocal, and may have had in the mouth of Jesus himself an elastic and varying meaning, at first signifying but little, and afterwards more. But an exact historical investigation destroys the first objection, and with it in the main the second also and the third.[3] For it is above all certain that, in his later Galilean period, Jesus regarded this name as designating what he had been from the beginning and had shown himself to be. When speaking of his first appearance, he says, "The Son of Man came eating and drinking;" and when taking a retro-

[1] Matt. xii. 6, 8, ix. 6, v. 13, 14, 17.

[2] For earlier treatises on this conception, see Schleusner, *Lex. græc. lat. in N. T.* 3rd ed. II. pp. 1174 sq. In recent times, Scholten, *De appellat. τοῦ υ. τ. ἀ.* 1809; Böhme, *Versuch, das Geheimniss des M. zu enthüllen*, 1839; Gass, *De utroque I. X. nomine*, 1840; Nebe, *Ueber den Begriff des Namens, ὁ υ. τ. ἀ.* 1860. The most important in recent times are, Baur, *Die Bedeutung des Ausdrucks Menschensohn*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1860, pp. 274 sqq.; ib. *N. T. Theol.* 1864, pp. 75 sqq.; Hilgenfeld, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1863, pp. 327 sqq.; Colani, *J. Chr. et les croyances messianiques*, 2nd ed. 1864, pp. 112 sqq.; Holtzmann, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1865, p. 212; Beyschlag, *Christologie*, 1866; Nandrès, *J. Chr. le fils de l'homme*, 1867; Schulze, *Vom Menschensohn und vom Logos*, 1867; Weiffenbach, *l. c.* pp. 11 sqq.; Wittichen, *Die Idee des Menschen*, 1868; Ewald, 3rd ed. pp. 304 sq.; Hase, 5th ed. p. 154; Schenkel, p. 374. Review of the literature on the subject, e. g. in Bleek, *Synopse*, I. p. 358; Holtzmann, *l. c.* pp. 212 sqq.; the *Commentaries* of De Wette and Meyer; Volkmar, *Ev.* pp. 199, 450.

[3] Baur held (*N. T. Theol.* p. 81; comp. p. 75) that the name was used with a varying meaning, since he thought it possible that Jesus at a later period first adopted the Messiah title of Daniel; comp. also Colani, p. 80; Strauss, p. 227. But Weizsäcker (1864, p. 429), and Nandrès after him (pp. 34 sqq.), believe that Jesus used it with a varying meaning, because they find in the epithet itself only a designation of himself as a prophet (if not also implying a prophetic self-consciousness), after the manner of Ezekiel.

spect of the whole of his ministry, he asks his disciples, "What do men say that the Son of Man is?"[1] And the significant sayings with reference to the eagerness of certain persons to follow him, to which he gave utterance previous to the completion of the number of the twelve Apostles, and the sayings against the Scribes uttered in the prelude of his controversies with the Pharisees—"The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head;" "the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins;" "the Son of Man is lord of the Sabbath"—belong unquestionably to the early part of his ministry.[2]

It is true that the difficulties offered by the idea are considerable, and on this account the want of unanimity on the part of expositors is not quite the humiliating spectacle which Beyschlag says it is.[3] One might have supposed that the more frequently the name appeared in the New Testament, the less would be the obscurity that gathered round its meaning. Certainly, it occurs only four times in the New Testament outside of the Gospels, and is never used by Paul,—a remarkable indication, as much of the independence of the development of the apostolic period, as of that of the evangelical tradition in the midst of the subsequent current of history. In the Gospels, however, it appears seventy-eight times, or, omitting the parallel passages, fifty times, or again, omitting John's Gospel, thirty-nine times. By far the larger number of instances occur in Matthew and Luke, only about a dozen in Mark and John, the later books which form the transition stage to the complete cessation of the name in the New Testament.[4] It is exactly on account of the

[1] Matt. xi. 19, xvi. 13. In Luke (ix. 18) and Mark (viii. 27), certainly, it is only, "Who say men that *I* am?"

[2] Matt. ix. 6, viii. 20, xii. 8. The early date of these passages will afterwards be shown more in detail in the history of the miracles and the controversies. The earliest formal use of the name in each Gospel, Matt. viii. 20; Mark ii. 10; Luke v. 24 (comp. vi. 22); John i. 51.

[3] *Christol. N. T.* 1866, p. 21.

[4] Passages outside of the Gospels: Acts vii. 56; Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14; Heb. ii. 6. In the Gospels, Matthew has twenty-nine passages, Luke twenty-five, Mark thirteen, and John eleven. (Nandrès, p. 33, erroneously gives Matthew thirty-two, and Mark

great number of passages that the name occurs in so many relations and in so many different lights that the meaning seems to become intangible, though the two later Evangelists attempt—yet inadequately—to point it out. If we turn to the Old Testament, in which the first roots of the name are to be sought, we find there notoriously different significations; and if we take counsel of the ancient and modern expositors of the Old and New Testaments, we meet with a still more marked variety of opinions.[1]

In the examination of such a strange and evidently genuinely Eastern name, it is advisable to make the Old Testament our starting-point. There we often find this expression, in both the singular and the plural, used to designate and describe human nature; hence, in the well-known parallelism of Hebrew verses, "man" and "son of man" are frequently used interchangeably. Since this descriptive phrase inserts the individual in the chain of the race and of the conditions and limitations of human nature, it acquires not merely a poetical character, but also a categorical pointedness: it expresses more exactly than any other the physical and even the physico-ethical littleness and infirmity of human nature in antithesis to God, and also again—as a kind of completion of the contrast—in antithesis to the undeservedly high dignity to which the exalted God raises the work of His hand by revelation and grace.[2] This contrast is

fourteen. Grimm, in his Lexicon, overlooks Matt. xxiv. 30 (bis); Mark viii. 31; John viii. 28, xii. 23). Ten passages are peculiar to Matthew and Luke: Matt. x. 23, xiii. 37, 41, xvi. 13, 27, 28, xix. 28, xxiv. 30, xxv. 31, xxvi. 2; Luke vi. 22, ix. 22, 26, xii. 8, xvii. 22, xviii. 8, xix. 10, xxi. 36, xxii. 48, xxiv. 7. Mark has only ii. 28 peculiar to itself (viii. 31, 38 = Luke). All the passages in John are peculiar to that book. From the absence of the name in Paul and the Revelations, Volkmar (p. 199) infers its unhistorical character!

[1] Mark (ii. 10) delineates the Son of Man as the representative of human interests; John (v. 27) as the incarnate representative of the supremacy and judicial rights of God over mankind: neither is an altogether incorrect description, yet neither is quite complete. With reference to Mark ii. 10, read in the light of Matt. xii. 7 sq., I would remark provisionally that Mark rationalizes subjectively, and that the character of "representative of human interests" is contained also in the older expression of Matthew.

[2] Comp. Num. xxiii. 19; Deut. xxxii. 8; 2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. viii. 4, xi. 4, xii. 1, 8, xiv. 2, xxi. 10, xc. 3; Is. lvi. 12; Job xvi. 21, xxv. 6 (equals σαπρία,

notably depicted in the eighth Psalm, and in the book of Ezekiel, which represents God as in the habit of addressing the prophet as "Thou son of man!"[1] This contrast of lowness and majesty had already acquired in these passages a character of mysteriousness, the appearance of a special, individual and unique, privileged position. This was still more the case in the great prediction in the book of Daniel of the kingdom of the saints or of the people of God, which was to supplant the four great secular kingdoms: after God, as judge, has deprived the four terrible beasts of their power, one "like a son of man" is to be carried in the clouds of heaven to the throne of God and invested with regal authority over the whole earth.[2] He who is like a son of man, that is, according to the ancient significance of the expression, which must not be forgotten, he who is weak as contrasted with the strong beasts, but who also is superior spiritually and through the fellowship of God—he is, in the sense of the whole book, the people of God as a whole, and not an individual. But the literalness of Jewish exposition, and the tendency to look for a personal deliverer of the nation, made it easy to conceive of him as an individual, as the Messiah of the future. In this sense the passage has been understood, not only by Christendom, but also by the Jewish books of Enoch and Ezra, and by the later Rabbinical Judaism. It must be confessed, however, that the pre-Christian date of the books of Enoch and Ezra, especially of those parts of the book of Enoch that treat of the Messianic Son of Man, is strongly contested.[3]

σκώληξ), &c. Besides the physical littleness (comp. Ps. viii.), the moral is also indicated, Num. xxiii. 19.

[1] Ez. ii. 1, 3, iii. 1, 3, 4, 10, 25, xl. 4.

[2] Ke-bar ænash, ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, Dan. vii. 13. Just the same in Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14.

[3] Ordinarily only the characteristic of "humanity" (Volkmar, p. 198) in antithesis to the kingdoms of the beasts is made prominent; but here, as elsewhere in the Old Testament, the idea of weakness which is strength in God, is not to be excluded, at least in Dan. iv. 14 [Auth. Vers. verse 17] *shephal anashim* expressly appears. That the "Son of Man" of Daniel is a personification of the nation of saints (Hitzig, Hofmann, and later writers), follows from the language of the chapter (vii.) itself; Ewald,

As regards Jesus himself, in his use of this expression he does not by any means presuppose that his contemporaries had attached to it any unalterable categorical meaning, any indelibly impressed signification. This is evident from his complete reticence as to higher titles, and from his later questions addressed to the disciples on the subject of their conception of his character—nay, as Matthew says, of their conception of what he was as the Son of Man. It is also expressly proved by the fourth Gospel, and is not contradicted by the rejection by the judges at Jerusalem of his appeal to the entire prophecy of Daniel.[1] As given in the first and fourth Gospels, the name of "Son of Man" expressed a vaguer, less palpable, more variable, and—as Weisse says—less definitely stamped conception than did the well-known and, by Jesus, long-avoided title of the Messianic Son of

on the other hand (with him, *e.g.* Beyschlag), adheres to the Messianic individual person (*Gesch. Chr.* 3rd ed. p. 304). The Son of Man (man's son, woman's son) in the book of Enoch, see Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 1853, p. xxiii, chaps. 46, 1 sqq., 48, 2 sqq., 51, 3 sqq., 62, 7 sqq., 71, 17. Esra (ed. Volkmar, 1863) xiii. 3 (comp. 12): Et vidi hunc ventum exsurgentem de mari instar hominis et ecce convolabat ille homo cum nubibus cœli. Comp. also *Orac. Sibyll.* 3, 590 sqq. This is not the place to treat of the wide differences of opinion with reference to the pre-Christian or Christian origin of these works. But that the "Son of Man" passages in the book of Enoch (chaps. xxxvii.—lxxi.) are at least to be referred to Christian interpolation, Volkmar, following Hilgenfeld (*Jüd. Apocalyptik*, 1857), as well as Oehler (art. *Messias*), hold to be probable, in opposition to Ewald and Dillmann, who explain the New Testament out of the book of Enoch. With Dillmann go Beyschlag, Schenkel, and Weiffenbach. On the Talmudic Messiah, comp. *Sanhedr.* f. 98, 1: Si digni erunt, tum venit in nubibus cœli (Anani). Si non digni, tum pauper et inequitans asino. Comp. Lightfoot, p. 718.

[1] Matt. xvi. 13. When the collateral reporters, Luke and Mark (the latter evidently with less originality), write "I" instead of "Son of Man," they take it for granted that the "I," thus frequently introduced as "Son of Man," was by no means inclusively explained by the latter expression, but had then to be explained. John xii. 34 also shows (as Weisse holds, against Ewald, Bleek, Meyer, and Weiffenbach) the unacquaintance of the people with the name "Son of Man;" and should any one, with Strauss (p. 226), doubt the genuineness of the expression, it would be literally correct. But it is a forced exposition to say that the people indeed understood the idea of "the Son of Man," but not of *this* "Son of Man" who had to die. Baur, *N. T. Th.* p. 82; Schulze, p. 65; Weiff, p. 16. The text particularly mentions him who is exalted to heaven, therefore the genuine Danielic "Son of Man." Finally, in Matt. xxvi. 64 sq., the Sanhedrim does not oppose the title "Son of Man," but the application of the whole and, exactly in its entirety, Messianic utterance of Daniel's. Comp. also Holtzmann, p. 226.

God; and thus it retained the actual varieties of conception that existed in the Old Testament.[1] Emphasis was laid on the prophecy of Daniel as a whole, but not on the "Son of Man" of Daniel, which might have sounded too insignificant to the interpreters of the prediction. The "Son of Man" of Enoch or of Esra was simply not known at all. The Messiah was called Son of David, Son of God, the Christ, but never Son of Man. On that very account, as is now generally acknowledged, Jesus seized upon this name: it was a name which he meant should now first attract the attention of the people, and it was the name which seemed to Jesus particularly suggestive of the real character of his person and his cause.[2]

He himself exclusively appropriated this name; and he was never so called by others. Only twice in the New Testament does it occur as a designation of men in general: once in a saying by Jesus himself in Mark, but rightly without any support from the other Gospels.[3] Jesus called others "men," even when in the immediate context he called himself the Son of Man; he spoke of John as the "born of a woman," an expression which certainly stands in the book of Enoch for "Son of Man:" but himself he called "I" or "Son of Man."[4] From this it assuredly follows that he attached a special significance to this name, and

[1] Weisse, I. p. 319. Biedermann, *Dogm.* p. 226: in use previous to Jesus. Besides Matt. xvi. 13, xvii. 12 is also very instructive: Elijah was not recognized, but was mishandled, and thus would it be also with the Son of Man. But in that case the person (John) was known, but not his Elijah-character; here (in the case of Jesus) the person and the title of Son of Man are known, but not the Messianic character.

[2] Bleek, *Synopt.* I. p. 360, finds in this principally only the diverting the attention of men. Ewald, Bleek, Beyschlag, Weiffenbach, and Wittichen, think that Jesus made use of the book of Enoch, with which, however, those who surrounded him were not acquainted. And yet Bleek and Beyschlag believe in an *incognito!*

[3] Mark iii. 28; Eph. iii. 5. The name is used by others only in John xii. 34, and without direct application to Jesus, merely in a general way as a name and title.

[4] Others spoken of as men, in antithesis to the Son of Man: Matt. xi. 19, xvi. 13, xvii. 22; Mark ii. 27 sq., xiv. 21. Comp. also Matt. vii. 9, xii. 11 sq., 43, x. 36, xiii. 25, xv. 11, xvi. 26. Born of women, Matt. xi. 11 (in the book of Enoch said of the Messiah, comp. Dillmann, xxiii.). Jesus calls himself a man, John viii. 40; the people call him so, Matt. xi. 19; John ix. 16.

that Beza, Paulus, and Fritzsche, relying upon a few passages where "I" and "Son of Man" appear to be used interchangeably and quite indifferently, give an altogether inadequate exposition of the expression when they attempt to find in it nothing more than a paraphrase of "I," though the disciples had then given it a Messianic signification.[1]

The meaning attached to the expression by Jesus can be most simply arrived at by means of the explanation which at the close of his Galilean ministry he allows his disciples to give and which he endorses. The "Son of Man" is the Son of God, the Christ, the Messiah. Since, however, it is possible that Jesus later changed the explanation, or that, even without a change of the verbal explanation, he understood by the "Son of Man," who as such was discovered to be the Messiah, something altogether different, or at least in some way peculiar, we dare not lay much stress upon that passage. Yet this interpretation is intrinsically established. In the greater number of passages, the "Son of Man" is plainly an exalted being; and from the very first he is introduced as the lord of the Sabbath, the pronouncer, nay, the authoritative dispenser, of the forgiveness of sins, though he is destitute of earthly majesty and, indeed, of an earthly roof. Later he appears continually as the one who is coming to the earth in majesty to judge and to reign; while in a number of passages, the "Son of Man" is simply the successor of Elijah, the Christ, the King, the Son of God.[2] The mass of the expressions must here decide as to the ultimate meaning of the phrase, even without including the fourth Gospel, which, while harmonizing with the earlier Gospels in general and in details, yet naturally con-

[1] That "Son of Man" and "I" are used interchangeably (Matt. xvi. 13, xii. 30, 32; John xii. 32, 34), naturally proves nothing. How comical would be this perpetual paraphrase, and yet why is it never so? Comp. Bleek, I. p. 359; Holtzmann, p. 217; Schulze, p. 13; Nandrès, p. 7.

[2] Matt. xii. 8, ix. 6, viii. 20. Advent, majesty, judgment, ib. x. 23, xiii. 41, xvi. 27, 28, xix. 28, xxiv. 27, 30, 37, 39, 44, xxv. 31, xxvi. 64; resurrection, xvi. 21, &c. Immediate identification with the conception of the Messiah: Elijah, ib. xvii. 12; the one foretold, xxvi. 24; the Christ, xxiv. 5, 23, 30; King, xxv. 31, 34; Son of God, xxvi. 63 sq.

siderably magnifies the glory of the person of Jesus; and earlier and later conceptions cannot be kept apart, because the earliest expressions lead us to the same meaning.[1] It is therefore an error to look for something indefinite or for a mere prophetic title, or indeed for an expression of human inferiority in Jesus' first designation of himself; that first designation already exhibits the Messiah, a fact which in the present day is seldom denied. This Messiah-title very clearly points back at once to the Old Testament, though the striking passages in proof of this belong to a later period of the ministry of Jesus. It is disputed whether the title be derived rather from the book of Daniel or from the eighth Psalm; for Ezekiel, to whom Weizsäcker would refer it in part, cannot be taken into consideration, since Jesus could not well bear the name in both a prophetic and a Messianic sense.[2] Daniel is pointed to not only by definite later expressions, Synoptical and Johannine, but by all the elementary points of Jesus' teaching: for Jesus drew from the most popular book of his age the conception of the kingdom of heaven, of its near approach, of its coming, of its earthly-human character, as well as the conception of the Messiah. The distrust of Schleier-

[1] The exalted character of the Son of Man is immediately expressed by Matthew and Luke in over twenty passages; his humble character only in Matt. viii. 20, xi. 19, xii. 32, 40, xvi. 21, xvii. 9, 12, 22, xx. 18, 28, xxvi. 2, 24, 45. All these thirteen passages, however, contain also the *other mode of regarding* the Son of Man.—In the fourth Gospel, the conception of the Son of Man as a glorious and majestic being is alone to be found: he is from heaven and goes to heaven, iii. 13, vi. 62; he stands in active contact with heaven, i. 52, iii. 13; he is glorified, xii. 23, xiii. 31; he is lifted up (in a paradoxically double sense), iii. 14, viii. 28, xii. 34; he executes judgment, v. 27; he is the true bread, vi. 27, 53. In harmony with the character of this Gospel, the Son of Man, as the specialized incarnate Logos, is the mediator between heaven and earth (comp. Baur, *N. T. Theol.* p. 78). Thus the coming from heaven and the going to heaven are as essential to him as the judging and vivifying of men upon earth.

[2] Since Chemnitz, Daniel has been referred to by most moderns, including Baur, Beyschlag, Biedermann, Bleek, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Hitzig, Holtzmann, Renan, Strauss, Weizsäcker. Comp. Holtzmann, p. 218; Schulze, pp. 20 sq. Among those who have referred to the eighth Psalm are Schmid, Delitzsch, Kahnis, Colani, A. Schweizer, and myself in *Gesch. Chr.* p. 105. Comp. Holtzmann, pp. 217, 231; Schulze, p. 17. Weizsäcker, p. 429 (as well as Nandrès, p. 36, and Hausrath, p. 427), refers at the same time to Ezekiel.

macher and his followers of "the singular fancy" of a derivation from Daniel or from the Old Testament in general, need not occasion us any anxiety in the present day.[1] The eighth Psalm is not on that account to be set aside. Since the time of Paul, Christians have applied this mysterious Psalm to their Messiah, and Jesus himself repeatedly made use of it, and, according to Matthew, quoted it against his opponents in the first controversy in the temple.[2] In this Psalm we have *the* Son of Man, not merely one *like a* son of man; here, in contrast to the superhuman, cloud-enveloped position of the Messiah, there is clearly described the human, lowly starting-point of him who at first forewent angelic exaltation, but was appointed to majesty and universal power in the name of God. Jesus has also glanced at the Old Testament as a whole, and has brought into immediate connection different passages of the Old Testament.[3] While the passage in Daniel, with its sublime pictures, did not appal him, because he gave to that as well as to the rest of the Old Testament a spiritual interpretation, and because it was not until

[1] Comp. the passages immediately based upon Daniel, Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64, xvi. 27, xxi. 44, &c. Then the conceptions of the kingdom of heaven, and of the future of the kingdom of heaven (ἔφθασε, xii. 28), comp. Dan. vii. 13, 22, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἔφθασε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχον οἱ ἅγιοι. It is worthy of remark that in Daniel the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven goes first of all to God in heaven, where he is invested; while in Jesus' words, and also in the teaching of the Rabbis (see above, p. 83, note), he comes at once to earth; but comp. the double view, in Dan. vii. 13, 22. On Schleiermacher, see Neander, Weisse, and others (Schenkel, p. 375). Bleek, I. p. 360; Holtzmann, p. 219.

[2] This Psalm is Messianically interpreted in 1 Cor. xv. 27; Ephes. i. 22; Heb. ii. 6. Jesus himself, according to Matthew, applies it to his enemies, Matt. xxi. 16. Psalm cx. is misapplied in 1 Cor. xv. 27. The objections of Schulze (pp. 17 sq.) to the Messianic meaning of the Psalm are very weak. Who denies that it is not originally Messianic? But that is also the case with other passages; and the Messianic application is very old, perhaps old Jewish, inasmuch as it is found in Paul and probably in the teaching of Jesus; for otherwise the passage, Matt. xxi. 16, which it is true stands only in this Gospel and yet appears very significant, loses its sharpest point. Even the little or brief subordination to the angels in Ps. viii. 5 can be found in the sayings of Jesus; comp. Matt. vi. 10, xviii. 10, xxii. 30, xxiv. 36. See also xvi. 27, xiii. 41, &c. Further, Ps. viii. 6, πάντα ὑπέταξας, and Matt. xi. 27, xxviii. 18. Ps. viii. 5, δόξα, of man in particular in antithesis to creatures generally, Matt. vi. 26 sqq., xii. 12. Messianic δόξα, Matt. xvi. 27, &c.

[3] Comp. Matt. xxi. 13, 42, 44.

later, in his breaking with the earthly life, that he passed over to a material interpretation, yet it was rather the passage in the Psalms that encouraged him to adopt this title and to explain it by Daniel, because the passage in the Psalms delineated his career just as it actually began and as it could be realized by a human self-consciousness, namely, in progress from below upwards, from littleness to greatness, from the earth to the Godhead.

It is hereby conceded that the Old Testament conception of the Messiah of itself by no means exhausts the signification of the title "Son of Man" as used by Jesus. This title, of which he is fond, is to him unquestionably more than a welcome and in itself meaningless utterance under which to disguise his Messiahship, and is more also than a pedagogic, enigmatical and educational appellation; to the profound-man it has a profound meaning, and is richly suggestive; and Jesus has imprinted upon it *his own* signification, which is not merely that of the Old Testament, but one going far beyond it. He wishes to indicate that even in his capacity of Messiah he is *part and parcel of humanity;* this is to be inferred from the title itself, inasmuch as he calls himself not only *a* son descended *from* men, but *the* Son *of* Man, and, according to all appearances, understands by the term *son* not primarily the *descendant*, but, in harmony with the national mode of speech, the *articulated member of the great community;* and under the term *man* he includes certainly not merely Joseph, nor Maria, nor indeed David, Abraham, Adam, but the race as a whole.[1] His individual utterances everywhere give to this Sonship this reference to humanity: as

[1] Beyschlag (p. 20) and Biedermann (*Dogm.* p. 226) quite unjustifiably avoid deducing the conception from the sentences of Jesus. Whence else?—A son of man, not *the* Son of Man, stands only in John v. 27, and in the quotations from Daniel in Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14.—The explanation, Son of Mary, of David, of Abraham, already in the Fathers (see below). Son of Adam, Lightfoot and to a certain extent many recent critics (second Adam, see below, p. 91).—That "the Son of Man" does not necessarily express merely human descent (which is not referred to by Jesus in any single passage), but general relationship and identification with humanity, comp. Matt. viii. 12, *υἱοὶ βασιλείας*; Luke x. 6, *υἱὸς εἰρήνης*; xvi. 8, *υἱοὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*; xx. 36, *ἀναστάσεως*; 1 Thess. v. 5, *ἡμέρας*; Acts iv. 36, *παρακλήσεως*; 1 Sam. xx. 31, *θανάτου*; Matt. xxiii. 15, *γεέννης*; John xvii. 12, *ἀπωλείας*.

the Son of Man that brings the kingdom of heaven down to earth, he scatters good seed upon the field of the world, forgives sins upon earth, orders, establishes, changes the earthly ordinances of God, brings in the era of "the days of the Son of Man," seeks and saves men, is believed and not believed by men, in the future will be their judge and their ruler.[1] This humanitarian vocation is more particularly fulfilled, or at least is introduced, by his being completely and perfectly a man among men, by his being the subject of the most fundamentally and genuinely human inferiority and serviceableness. The Son of Man is like a man; he eats and drinks like other men, without a saintly aureole; nay, in the fulfilment of the vocation of his life, he foregoes the ordinary comforts and conveniences of society, and is more roofless than the wild beast of the wood.[2] But this privation is always a voluntary renunciation, this want is always an act of service; the Son of Man is come—thus he speaks in the sentences in which he exactly describes his conception of the Son of Man—to seek and to save the lost; not to be served, as he well might be, but to serve. And in preaching, in healing, in wandering about homeless, in eating with publicans and sinners, in forgiving sins, in violating the Sabbath strictness, finally in suffering and dying, he is the servant of, the minister to, humanity.[3] Men, misconstruing him, call him a man, and once he so calls himself; they say he is an eater and a drinker, a companion of sinners; they lay hands on him, at last they

[1] Matt. xiii. 37 sq. (seed), ix. 6 (forgiveness), xii. 8 (ordinances); Luke xvii. 22 (the era), comp. John vi. 51 (gives life to the world); Luke xix. 10 (saves), xviii. 8 (faith), comp. Matt. xvi. 13, xi. 19, xii. 32 (unbelief); ib. xiii. 41, xvi. 27, xix. 28, Luke xxi. 36, John v. 27 (judge, ruler).

[2] Matt. xiii. 24, 37 (like man); John viii. 40, comp. Matt. xix. 26 (calls himself man); Matt. xi. 19 (eats), viii. 20 (denies himself).

[3] Luke xix. 10 (seeks); comp. the uncritical interpolations, ix. 55, and Matt. xviii. 11. Matt. xx. 28 (serves). The remaining passages are well known and often occur. Comp. especially the passage on Sabbath-breaking in the different readings of Matt. xii. 8 and Mark ii. 27 sq. On the rationalizing of the passage by Mark, see below, where the passage is treated of. Minister, comp. the fine passage *Vajikr. rabb.* s. 2, f. 146, 2: Qui opera misericordiæ exequuntur, qui pro honore Dei et populi isr. semet ipsos toto die abjiciunt et viles habent. Schöttgen, p. 90.

betray and kill him; and he himself, because he is the manlike one, excuses the misconstruction and the calumny; he accepts it as his destiny to pass through misconstruction and misunderstanding in order to be the servant and saviour of mankind.[1]

Many of these passages anticipate the latter part of his ministry; for, at any rate, he did not speak of his suffering and dying, of his ascension into heaven, of his return thence, of his judgment-day, of his sitting upon the throne of heaven, until later, until his destiny had fulfilled itself; and in his use of the language of Daniel and of the Old Testament to describe his glory, he went beyond his own profoundest fundamental conceptions of his service to humanity. Nevertheless, all these later explanations had in some way their roots in his double conception of his character and of his vocation to be, on the one hand, the exalted Messiah, and, on the other, the humble, self-abasing servant of humanity.[2]

This double conception of Jesus' has been hitherto as often surmised and recognized, as it has been, on the other hand, overlooked or violently converted into one-sidedness of the one kind or the other. Antiquity, from the New Testament inclusive downwards, partly lost and partly erroneously interpreted this favourite name of Jesus. Eagerly fastening on the highest name of all, men were fonder of calling him the Son of God than the Son of Man; and from John the Evangelist to Barnabas, Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus, and the company of the Fathers of the Church, the Son of Man was described only as the incarnate God, as the Son of God in His essence, and as the Son of Mary, of David, of Abraham, according to the flesh, laying aside in the flesh the divine glory, and yet not laying it aside. And the

[1] Matt. xi. 19 (called a man), comp. xxvi. 74, John ix. 16; Matt. xii. 32, Luke xxii. 48 (misconstruction); Matt. xvi. 21, xvii. 12, 22, xx. 18, xxvi. 24, 27, Mark xiv. 21 (betrayal, death); Matt. xii. 32 (Jesus excuses men).

[2] More in detail further on. The above does not deny that Jesus connected the perspective of his throne and his judgment with his Messiahship itself from the beginning, and not first when he entertained thoughts of his death and of his coming again; but here the idea came visibly into conflict with his fundamental conception.

upholders of the fourth Gospel have recently supported this interpretation.[1] To a certain extent we have here also a higher and a lower, but the former is in excess, and is transcendentally and metaphysically conceived. In modern times the higher has been moderated or altogether suppressed; men have recognized in the conception of the Son of Man only the perfected man, the second Adam, the ideal of humanity, or indeed merely the dignity belonging to the vocation of Messiah. But while some have maintained simply this somewhat moderated title of exaltation, others, since Hugo Grotius, have found in the much-discussed name nothing more than an expression of human humility.[2] Quite recently, Holtzmann has defended the one view, and Baur the other.[3] A correcter judgment has never admitted these half-

[1] The remains of the name: In the New Testament, see above, p. 80. Outside of the New Testament, James, according to Hegesippus, calls Jesus the Son of Man, Eus. 2, 23. Even Celsus, Origen, *Con. Cels.* 8, 15. The Gnostics, especially the Ophites, make use of the name in their cosmological system, and refer to the mediation of the Son of Man; comp. Irenæus, 1, 30, 1 sqq.; Origen, *l. c.* The Fathers use it in the sense of the Incarnate: Barnabas 12, Ἰησοῦς, οὐχ υ. ἀ., ἀλλ' υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, τύπῳ καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς. Justin, *Tryph.* 100: Son of Man because of his birth by the virgin,—mediately Son of David, Jacob, Isaac, Abraham—therefore, however, not properly a man of men (c. 48). Ignatius, *Eph.* 20, ὁ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ, ὁ υ. ἀ. καὶ υ. θεοῦ. Irenæus, 3, 19, 3, filius Dei, quoniam ex Maria habuit sec. hominem generationem, factus est filius hominis; 4, 33, 11, verbum caro erit et fil. Dei fil. hominis; 3, 10, 2, &c. Similarly, later writers, comp. Holtzmann, p. 214.

[2] The higher nature, the ideal of humanity, the second Adam, held by Herder, Neander, Olshausen, Weisse, Hofmann, Beyschlag (the last finding even pre-existence), and others. The lower character, Hugo Grotius, Wilke (comp. Schleiermacher, likeness to men, p. 293), Baur, and others. See following note. Comp. Holtzmann, pp. 214 sqq.; Schulze, pp. 65 sqq.

[3] Baur holds intrinsically the view of Grotius, that Jesus is, to express it in a few words, the one qui nihil humani a se alienum putat, 1860, p. 280; 1864, p. 81. Somewhat similarly Strauss; also Schenkel; recently Scholten, who, in *Ev. nach Joh.* 1867, p. 236, says that the only thing which attracted Jesus to the vocation of Messiah was the desire to be a man and to bring in the kingdom of humanity. Holtzmann (pp. 233 sq.) has given prominence to the characteristic of glory, and—after Schleiermacher—especially to the judicial attitude of Jesus (according to Mark ii. 10; John v. 27); and passages like Matt. viii. 20 he has explained—under the just blame of Nandrès (p. 25)—by admitting that the strongest contradictions met in Jesus. Then again, by speaking (though without consistency) of a peculiar central position among men, of the universal and human meaning of the name, he (p. 235) at one and the same time bridges the space between himself and Baur, as well as between his own view and the perfected man of Nandrès.

views, much less the obscure intermixture of them. It is the task of modern science to build up the truth out of these antitheses and confusions.[1]

The Son of Man as the Messiah who, though veiled, is yet fully conscious of himself, of his greatness, and of his vocation,—this title, this fact, is a fresh guarantee of the strength of Jesus' faith in the immediate nearness of the kingdom of heaven, and explains his confidence: the kingdom was *where he was*, or it was waiting only for him to unveil himself, for God to unveil him. But his knowledge that he was the Messiah, and his express will—avowed in this, as Ewald calls it, most modest and most loveable name—to be the human Messiah, not merely a ruling, lordly Son of God after the gross Jewish ideal, but an associate of men, an intercessor for and a helpful servant among men,—this knowledge, this will, throws a fresh and fascinating light upon the genuinely human character and the spiritual as well as moral fundamental conception of the kingdom of heaven which he always preached; it promises, for the progress of his work, every gift, every qualification needed to guide man to the fulfilment of its unsatisfied longings, to the actual vision of its eternal ideal; and finally it shows the lingering and apparently so decisively important anticipation of regal glory to be a cloudy phantom of the imagination, whose features and outlines, begotten of the ideal poetry of a sensuous national genius, are already yielding to the sober, earnest self-knowledge of Jesus; for, in truth, his authority lay in his serviceableness.

D. — The Repentance that admits to the Kingdom of Heaven.

Since the kingdom of heaven is at the door, Jesus, like John, insists upon repentance as the human preparation which does not indeed make and bring into existence that kingdom, but

[1] The antitheses are best brought together by De Wette, Colani, Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift*, 1863, pp. 327 sqq.; comp. 1865, p. 19).

which renders man fit and worthy to receive it. There is, however, a great difference between the two demands for repentance. In point of fact, Jesus does not preach repentance so much as righteousness; he addresses not merely sinners, but the righteous also; he brings to the righteous benediction instead of humiliation; finally—and this is the most noticeable dissimilarity—his insistance upon repentance and righteousness belongs to quite a different world, is dictated by quite a different spirit, from the Johannine. In harmony with all this, the form of Jesus' appeal is decidedly less harsh, violent, and impetuous than that of the Baptist's. These differences can be understood only in connection with Jesus' new conception of the kingdom of heaven. Where heaven and earth have a tendency to approach each other, as they do in Jesus' preaching of the kingdom, then on the side both of God and of man negation must give way to affirmation, anger to love, sorrow to joy, remorse to activity; and there everything that has an affinity to God goes forth to meet the Divine Visitant, not in garments of mourning but in holiday raiment, and proud of being like him and of becoming like him.

In requiring repentance—literally, a change of mind—universally and before all other things, Jesus assumes the previous existence of the dark shadows of failure, sin, guilt.[1] He unrelentingly tears away all title and claim to moral goodness from the earth, not merely from the mass of his contemporaries, but also from the pretentious magnates of virtue among the pious teachers, and finally also from himself when the belief of men is, as it were, too soon ready to call him good. He denies this

[1] *μετάνοια, μετανοεῖν*, alteration, change of mind. The *νοῦς* is the intelligent and moral personality, similarly as in Paul. Comp. Matt. xv. 16 sq., xvi. 9, 11, xxiv. 15. The ethical feature is yet more distinctly prominent in the idea *φρονεῖν*, xvi. 23; but elsewhere the change is conceived as immediately connected with the intellectual function, xiii. 15. Comp. also the ideas *ἐνθυμήσεις*, ix. 4; *διαλογισμοί*, xv. 19. The seat of all these functions is the heart, *καρδία*, ix. 4, xiii. 15, xv. 19.—Holtzmann (II. pp. 353 sqq.) finds in Mark evidence to show that Jesus only gradually laid aside the impetuosity of John's appeal.

claim even to the heavens, for he does not call the angels good, although they do the will of God: the only being that is good is He who is over all, God.[1] He charges the earth and men with sin and evil dispositions; he calls men unclean, perverse, dark and blind, lustful, selfish, worldly in thought, word, and deed, corrupt and dry trees, dead and lost.[2] Nay, the whole generation is perverse, evil, adulterous, contemptuous or deceitful towards God, a brood of vipers; the whole world is without light, without salt, a theatre of offences.[3] In the sinfulness of their nature all men are alike and are all obnoxious to the Divine chastisement, which here and there, in isolated instances, is inflicted, a solemn earnest of what is to come.[4] Here are splinters, there beams; here great, there small, debts; but debtors, sinners, are all men, and all must cry for forgiveness, all must turn or perish.[5]

These strong utterances are, however, qualified. There are in the world not merely sinners characterized simply by a greater or less degree of sinfulness; there are good men and evil men, righteous and unrighteous, upright and perverse, men who have not strayed and men who have strayed, healthy and diseased. There are trees that are sound and others that are corrupt, trees that are green and others that are dry, eyes that are good and others that are evil, a good soil and a rocky soil. And it is by no means the case that the good kind exists only in a few specimens, and the bad in the remaining many: on one occasion, the Lord, with the view of eulogizing the love of God towards His

[1] Matt. xix. 17 (comp. vii. 11), xii. 34, vi. 10.

[2] Sinful, Matt. ix. 2, 13, xxvi. 45; evil-disposed, vii. 11, vi. 22, xii. 39; unclean, xv. 20, xvi. 6; perverse, xvii. 17; dark and blind, vi. 23, xv. 14, xxiii. 16, &c., Luke iv. 18; lustful, Matt. v. 28; selfish, worldly, xvi. 25 sq.; corrupt, dry, vii. 17, xii. 33, Luke xxiii. 31; dead, lost, Matt. viii. 22, x. 6, Luke xv. 24.

[3] Matt. xvii. 17, xii. 34, 39, 45; without light, without salt, v. 13 sq.; offences, xviii. 7.

[4] Luke xiii. 1 sqq.

[5] Matt. vii. 3, xviii. 23 sqq. (comp. vi. 12); Luke vii. 4 sqq. Conversion, Matt. xiii. 15, xviii. 3.

wandering children, speaks of ninety-nine who had not wandered.[1] We have here, clearly, not simply isolated passages, but an antithesis running through the whole of Jesus' teaching, an antithesis which can be found even in the fourth Gospel, though there it rests only on the basis of a philosophically coloured theory of the universe.[2] It is therefore impossible to suppress this prevailing antithesis of the two classes, though dogmatists are glad to attempt so to do, and please many by making the attempt. By the terms "the good" and "the righteous," Jesus certainly does not signify merely either those that are good in the popular and inexact sense of the word, or indeed those that are righteous in appearance, such as in fact he often discovers and exposes among his antagonists; for *his* judgment is independent and severe. Neither does he refer to the good merely in idea without any question as to whether such really exist; nor to those that shall be good in the future after they have heard and profited by his preaching and his call to repentance.[3] For the good upon whom God causes His sun to shine and His rain to fall as He does upon the bad, and those that have not wandered, over whom God rejoices less than over the returning wanderers, must be as real existences as those that walk by their side, particularly since God Himself stands towards them in an actual and not merely a supposititious relation of sympathy. Moreover, the righteous upon whom God's sun has already long smiled, cannot be merely the righteous men of the future.[4] And the meek, the merciful, the peacemakers, the pure-hearted, whom Jesus pronounces blessed in the beginning of

[1] Righteous and unrighteous, Matt. v. 45, ix. 13, xii. 35 (comp. x. 41), xiii. 17, xxiii. 35, Luke xv. 7; upright and perverse, Matt. vi. 22, xvii. 17; strayed, xviii. 13; sound, ix. 12, Luke v. 31; trees, Matt. vii. 17 sq., xii. 33, Luke xxiii. 31; eyes, Matt. vi. 22; soil, xiii. 5; the ninety-nine, xviii. 13.

[2] Comp. the good and bad in the fourth Gospel (iii. 19 sqq.) as a fixed and universal antithesis.

[3] Good in the popular sense, Luke xviii. 18 sqq.; apparently righteous, Matt. vi. 2, Luke xvi. 15, xviii. 9, xx. 20; righteous in idea, Matt. ix. 13, or indeed xviii. 13; the good men of the future, v. 3 sqq., xiii. 43.

[4] Matt. v. 45, xviii. 13.

the Sermon on the Mount, and to whom he promises reward instead of punishment, and the diligent merchantmen who seek goodly pearls,—all these must have been prepared for his coming, like the children that stand round him, of whom he requires no conversion, and to whom, as to the humble, he promises the kingdom of heaven.[1] Truly, Jesus is not to be measured here by modern theories, which in order to honour him and to place at his feet a humanity that is in need of salvation, have, with mechanical definiteness, with only partial consistency with experience, without regard to the honour of the Creator, and finally without regard also to the honour of the Prince of mankind, established the unqualified sinfulness and lost condition of all men. Jesus, although he sees the shadows of the world as it is more clearly than we, does not darken them in order to make himself appear brighter; he rejoices in the light that shines in the darkness; he calls it light and not darkness; and, finding many in whom the light overcomes the darkness, he derives from that light, from those souls with their possession and their longing, encouragement to hope for a kingdom of heaven in the world; and he finds his triumph in being the leader and guide to salvation of both the good and the evil.

It is true we may be perplexed by the apparent contradiction which lies in the best attested utterances of Jesus, in which he in one place calls all men sinners, and in another carefully distinguishes between the righteous and the sinful. We may also be perplexed by the call to repentance which he seems to address to all, and which yet, as if on second thoughts and as it were out of timidity, he withdraws with reference to the good. In Luke, at least, he speaks distinctly of righteous persons who need no repentance and have never broken a divine commandment; and he speaks of his mission to call, not the righteous, but sinners to repentance, or, as Matthew has it, generally to call them.[2] We might seek to escape from the difficulty by supposing that Jesus

[1] Matt. v. 3 sqq., xiii. 45, xviii. 1 sqq.

[2] Luke xv. 7, 29. Comp. also the difference between Luke v. 32 and Matt. ix. 13.

relinquished his call to repentance, and finally his whole ministry, with reference to the righteous whom he learnt to recognize and whom he could leave to themselves, and confined his efforts to sinners, to the poor lost multitude whose miseries and hopeful penitence were bequeathed to him as an inheritance by John, and whose claim upon his assistance Jesus so often touchingly acknowledged, and summarized in the sentence: The Son of Man is come to seek and to save the lost.[1]

These difficulties, however, present nothing that is insurmountable, and such a way of escape as that above suggested would only lead us astray. An absolute contradiction in the genuine utterances of Jesus is an impossibility,—at least it is not to be assumed unnecessarily. A limitation of the call to repentance, nay, of the call in general, to sinners, would fundamentally destroy the genuinely Johannine and national character of the initial attitude of Jesus, as well as the breadth and sanctity of his ideas. It would come into direct collision with his actual appeal to the waiting pious, with the claim he made upon those who had not wandered, with his faith in the fulfilment, in his own person and performances, of the holy longing and seeking of prophets and righteous men, and with his express designation of his disciples and followers as righteous.[2] As must be seen at once, its introduction into his teaching could be effected only by violence. The elucidation and reconciliation of the difficulties in question lie in the words of Jesus himself. He pronounces all men to be sinners, blotting out as it were all distinction, especially when his purpose is to rebuke the vain arrogance of the creature towards God, and to humble man in the presence of the Pure and Holy One: in this relation, he finds no one good, every one is more or less a debtor, every one, even the righteous disciple, must plead for mercy.[3] This, in a word, is the meaning of

[1] Matt. ix. 11 sqq., x. 6, xv. 24, xviii. 12 sqq., xxi. 32; Luke xv. 4 sqq., xix. 10 (this last passage in Matt. xviii. 11 is spurious and interpolated).

[2] Matt. v. 3 sqq., xviii. 12 sqq., xiii. 17, 45, x. 41 sq.

[3] Matt. xix. 16 sqq., xviii. 23 sqq., vi. 12, 14 sq., v. 7. The Jews distinguish between those who are righteous through repentance (*baale teshubah*) and those who

the well-known passage, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." This passage has often been misunderstood, in the way in which it was misunderstood by Luke, who preserved the coming of Jesus for the righteous as well as for sinners, by supposing that he really called the former, though not to the repentance to which he called the latter. But in fact this passage neither recognizes the practically righteous, nor excludes them from the calling, though an exclusion has been inferred from the circumstance that Jesus had been previously speaking figuratively of those who, being really whole, needed no physician. This passage, richly figurative and allusive, excludes from the application of the calling merely the category of the *righteous*, the conception and presumption of complete righteousness, the Pharisaic self-righteousness; and it requires the practically righteous, and yet more those who pretend to be righteous, such as they stand before him, to remove themselves from the category of the righteous in the completest and most solemn sense at the very threshold of the calling, and to place themselves in the category of sinners in order through the calling to find righteousness in a new and true manner.[1] The greatness of the doctrine of Jesus is seen in the fact that he does not become one-sided in the carrying out of this most fully authorized and most tenaciously held point of view, but that by the side of this genuinely religious and humbling abolition of human distinctions, and of this exhibition of the fundamental difference between God and His crea-

are perfectly and sinlessly righteous (*zaddik gamur*). Much vaunting; yet there is also the sentence, Major poen. q. justitia. Lightfoot, pp. 541 sqq.; Schöttgen, pp. 293 sqq.

[1] Matt. ix. 13 and Luke v. 32. The above is not to be illustrated by immediately identifying "the whole" in Matt. ix. 12 with the category of "righteous" in verse 13. When Jesus says that the whole or the strong need not a physician, he uses this proverbial expression (comp. Wetstein, p. 358; Zeller in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 203) to justify his coming to the aid of the spiritually sick, *i. e.* of sinners; but he does not by any means say (1) that spiritually whole persons exist in the sense in which physically whole persons exist, (2) that the Pharisees are such, (3) that he withdraws his ministry from those better persons. He therefore says "righteous" categorically, and not "the righteous." More in detail when treating of the conflicts with the Pharisees.

tures, there runs unalterably, indelibly, and with equal authoritativeness, the genuinely ethical preservation of the moral estimate and standard by which men are divided into good and bad: all are bad or have something bad in them, and yet there are good among the bad, good to whom sin is not wanting, but in whom, nevertheless, the good and not the bad rules.

Thus Jesus remained consistent with himself, by requiring repentance of all, yet requiring it differently of the good than of sinners. In the case of the latter, repentance involved sorrow, a turning in every sense, a true revolution of sentiment; in the case of the former, the righteous and those that loved righteousness, it implied sorrow on account of the little progress made in the already commenced right course, and an eager pursuit after the, as yet, unattained perfection. The one conversion he demanded of the nation, which, in case of impenitence, he threatened with a worse fate than that of Sodom and Gomorrha; the other he required of the disciples, whose mutual jealousy he reproved by the example of the child which he placed in their midst, and by the warning that if they remained as they were they would not see the kingdom of heaven.[1] Where can we better seize this meaning of the utterances of Jesus—his relative relinquishment of repentance in the case of the righteous—than in the double reading in Luke and Matthew of the saving of the lost? Luke says there is greater joy in heaven than over the ninety-nine righteous that need no repentance; Matthew says that to the shepherd the one strayed sheep, which he seeks and finds, is of more moment than the ninety-nine that have not strayed.[2] Therefore the persons who, in Luke, need no repentance, are they who, in Matthew, have not strayed; they are not exactly such as are absolutely sinless, not exactly such as are altogether superior to repentance, as Luke, or rather his source tinged with Jewish self-righteousness, uncautiously, nay erroneously, asserts, but they are the men who have not broken with

[1] Luke xiii. 1 sqq.; Matt. xviii. 1 sqq. Comp. justification by works, xii. 37.

[2] Matt. xviii. 12 sqq. and Luke xv. 7.

the good, they are the good on the way to higher goodness; they do not stand in need of moral revolution, but—to use Kant's expression—of moral reparation (*moralische Ausbesserung*); they are the non-sinners and sinners of Jesus, the repentance-free and the repentant. It is this higher class of mourners that he has in view in the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount. The poor in spirit—*i. e.* those who are conscious of their poverty—and the quietly waiting, the mourning, to whom he promises the heavenly and the terrestrial kingdom and consolation, are, in the first place, according to Old Testament phraseology, the suffering, mourning, waiting pious of every kind, marked by outward or inward need, and hence the external consolation of a prosperous terrestrial kingdom is not withheld from them; but chiefly, according to the expressions themselves and the whole spirit of the context as well as of the teaching of Jesus in general, they are they who in the depth of their souls are agitated concerning spiritual questions, are internally dissatisfied with their inner state, are sorrowful, but are yet hopefully anticipating divine redemption. And thus the three beatitudes of the poor are followed by the fourth beatitude of those that hunger and thirst after righteousness and are to be filled; and then by the fifth and following beatitudes of the virtues which in the friends of righteousness already exist in their rudiments and yet are ever struggling after perfection.[1] All this is the repentance which he preaches to the pious of Israel, and which he would fain find already among them: not absolute conversion, but a humble recognition of the imperfections of their higher life, an eager longing for perfection in virtue, and a waiting upon God, who creates perfection in those that sigh for it.

Finally, though Jesus, moving among these two classes of men, seems to devote his efforts preferably to the grosser sinners —a point upon which the Gospel of the Hebrews already has its doubts—we are as little justified in finding in that a one-sidedness of conception of his vocation, as we are in finding a one-

[1] Matt. v. 3—11. More in detail when treating of the Sermon on the Mount.

sidedness of his predilections.[1] His natural sympathy, as so many of his cordial and encouraging utterances show, is with the righteous who thirst for God and for the bliss-giving waters of righteousness; the need and want in the masses, and the mass of want in each one arousing the sympathy of infinite compassion, together with the swelling of a glad high hope, drove him towards the sinners.[2] In such a sense then are the well-known sayings to be understood: The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which is lost; the Shepherd, heaven itself, rejoices more over one strayed but recovered sheep than over ninety-nine that have not strayed.[3]

Since Jesus requires repentance of both righteous and unrighteous, he necessarily holds it possible for even sinners to comply with the requirement. Sin is the work and institution neither of God, nor of any other superhuman cause; but rather —so purely moral is the view of Jesus—it is the deed of the man who errs, who degrades himself, who grows in wickedness, who loses himself.[4] The original institution of God is in many things the antithesis to the transformations effected by men. The clear eye is the healthy original nature of man; the evil eye, which fills the human body with darkness, is a horrible corruption which criminates itself and the man who possesses it.[5] It is true that God punishes man with moral incapacity, but only when man has exhausted his power of resistance and his folly; it is true that Satan seeks and obtains entrance into the soul of man, but only when that soul has prepared itself for

[1] Eligam mihi bonos, Hilgenfeld, 4, 16.

[2] The righteous, comp. Matt. v. 6 sqq., xii. 49, xiii. 17, 45; need and compassion, ix. 12, 36 sq., x. 6, xv. 24; hopes, xxi. 32, xviii. 12; Luke xviii. 9 sqq.

[3] Luke xix. 10 (Matt. xviii. 11); Matt. xviii. 12; Luke xv. 4 sqq. Perhaps many, in view of these passages, would prefer thus to interpret Matt. xi. 13: I am come *not so much* to call the righteous as rather sinners (comp. above, p. 98). The strong negation, however, excludes this interpretation.

[4] The independent action of man, Matt. xii. 33 sq.; faults, xviii. 21; degradation, vi. 22 sq., xii. 45; growth, xiii. 30; losing of self, xvi. 26 and Luke ix. 25.

[5] Matt. vi. 22 sq. Comp. the expressive, "From the beginning it was not so," xix. 8.

him; it is true that the world is seductive, but the dislike to what is good with which it inspires man implies a previously existing tendency to good, on account of which it fails to gain the mastery in every one; and finally it is true that the community draws the individual into its vicious current, but the individual member of the community nevertheless voluntarily fills up the measure of his nation's iniquity.[1] The man, every individual, is the creator of his own moral life and of his own fate. He has the choice of one of two masters; he can train his life's tree well or ill; and the definitive chooser resides in the depth and freedom of the heart.[2] Out of the treasure of the heart the good man brings good, the evil man evil; out of the heart proceed good and evil thoughts, words, and works; a man is compassionate or harsh according to the condition of his heart; and in the heart the good and the evil sowers sow their seed.[3]

By this voluntary activity of the heart, by this great *Either —Or* of the thoughts and determinations, man fixes his own destiny, acquires an internal definite relation to the good or to the evil, makes a hearth, a world, a treasure of good and evil, out of which whatever is therein shapes itself into words and works with moral, and apparently physical, necessity, just like the corrupt sap of a corrupt tree. "A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit." "How can ye who are evil speak what is good?" "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great (dominating and controlling every action of life) is that darkness!"[4] And yet here also there still is responsibility, liberty; to the experienced and advanced sinner are addressed such words

[1] God, Matt. xiii. 11 sqq.; Satan, xiii. 25, xii. 44; world, xviii. 7; community, xxiii. 31 sq.

[2] Matt. vi. 24, xii. 33; comp. vii. 16 sqq. Meyer's interpretation of xii. 33 is a distorted one: "Either admit that I am good and my fruit good." The context and vii. 16 sqq. speak plainly enough (comp. *καρποὺς ποιεῖν*, vii. 17).

[3] Matt. xii. 34 sq., xv. 19; words, works, ib. and vii. 16 sqq.; compassion, xviii. 35; hardness of heart, xix. 8; the sower, xiii. 19 sqq.

[4] Matt. xii. 33 sqq., vii. 16 sqq., vi. 23, comp. xv. 19.

as, "Why act thus?" and "Woe!" and "Either—or!" and "Ye would not!"[1] In fact, in proportion as Jesus lovingly and condescendingly—in contrast with the Pharisees—fixes his gaze upon the vilest sinner, in proportion as he looks into that sinner's heart rather than upon the hopeless desolation of the outward life, does he discover everywhere the remains of a better and a higher nature, the clear or the dawning consciousness of a distinction between soul and body, of the value of the soul, of obligation towards God, of the impurity of sin; he discovers this consciousness in the "evil generation," among publicans and sinners; even among the Gentiles he sees the affection of the family and of friendship, among harlots on the banks of the Jordan he finds repentance and faith, among all an unrest of the soul that is without God yet is seeking Him; in the barrenest field he finds a soil ready to receive the nobler seed which the Good Sower scatters.[2] He is sharp-sighted enough to recognize the smallest, the most languishing blossom of goodness; and he is great enough to despair of no one in whom there yet remains one spark of good, or even the mere power to put forth one higher effort of will. It is true that he never omits to teach that no progress can be made without the assistance of God, without divine grace, calling, and election,—and herein he shows himself to be a true Israelite; but it is not until later, when sadly reflecting upon the futility of his efforts, that he utters the appalling doctrine of the Old Testament, that God gives His grace to one and withholds it from another—nay, that He robs the non-possessor of any lingering remains of goodness, that He is a hardener of the hardened.[3]

In this complete and emphatic recognition of man's power of

[1] Why? Matt. ix. 4; woe! xviii. 7, xxiii. 13 sqq., xxvi. 24; either—or, vi. 24, xii. 33; not willing, xxiii. 37; responsibility, to the very word, xii. 36 sq.

[2] The remains, comp. the fine narrative of the woman that was a sinner, Luke vii. 36 sqq.; recognition of the distinction between soul and body, Matt. vi. 25, comp. x. 28; value, xvi. 25 sq.; obligation, vi. 24; impurity, vi. 22, xv. 20; love, v. 46 sq.; repentance, xxi. 32; unrest, xi. 28 sq., xiii. 44 sq.; soil, xiii. 19 sqq.

[3] Matt. xiii. 11, xvi. 17, xix. 11 sq., 26; hardening, xiii. 12 sqq.

independent action even in the case of the sinner, we discover first of all the preacher of repentance who appeals to the human will, and not at once to the help of God; and in the next place, we discover the ethical, heroic character of the general teaching of Jesus, and his jealous maintenance of the dignity of man on principle as well as on the ground of his experience of human life. But in the practical teacher we still see at the same time the acute theorist who recognizes the limitations of the liberty which he defends, the ban of the law of sin which man lays upon himself and which can be taken off only by God, and even then only by means of a moral revolution. How often has this problem of evil been attacked by the most gifted minds and left unsolved? In the Old Testament the prophets, in the New Testament Paul and John, have toiled at this problem; later, Augustine and Pelagius, together with their successors down to the time of the Reformation, have endeavoured to serve the truth by their untenable one-sidednesses, which have sometimes done violence to the divine grace, sometimes yet more to human freedom. Jesus has not solved every question: he was a preacher to the people rather than a dogmatist; but the most important fundamental outlines, the perpetuity and the limits of human freedom, the efficacious and yet not irresistible divine assistance —these eternal questions of moral speculation have been handled by him with elastic acuteness and ease, with a stricter adherence to both facts and principles than by any other, and therefore generally with truthful penetration. Hence, on the ground of this recognition and on the ground of these presentiments, believing in God and in men, he preached to all—Repent!

Repentance is regarded by Jesus as a work to be performed by man with divine assistance. Hence his appeal first to men, Repent; hence also his complaint, The Ninevites, the publicans and sinners repent, but ye have no repentance![1] God, however, performs His part; He sends His messengers, prophets and more than prophets; He speaks through preaching and miracle, in

[1] Matt. iv. 17, xi. 20 sqq., xii. 41, xxi. 32.

order that men may turn and believe, may be willing or indeed not willing.[1] The fourth Gospel is the first to speak of a new birth through water and spirit, altogether from above, altogether from God; in that Gospel the whole world lies involved in an infinite antithesis of what is beneath and what is above, of flesh and spirit, earth and heaven, world and God.[2] Jesus has scarcely once described with anything more than mere passing references the separate parts of repentance, the change of sentiment and the actual turning, or the new birth itself, the virtue of repentance on the one hand, the virtue of believing obedience and of moral result on the other.[3] It is not his purpose to describe, he aims at practical results; and he brings about those results by forcing the penitent disposition by threatening, by producing shame, and by exciting hope. He utters threats based on the unalterableness of the decisions of the day of judgment, and on the power of God, who can irremediably destroy body and soul in hell; he awakens shame by pointing to the horrible darkness and impurity wrought by sin in man, in that high, God-related nature, and to the mercy of God even towards those that despise Him; he causes hope to dawn by placing before the eyes of men riches instead of poverty, satisfaction instead of the sense of want, the word of forgiveness instead of judgment.[4] But in

[1] Matt. xi. 18 sqq., xii. 39 sqq., xxi. 32, 34 sqq., xxiii. 37.

[2] Comp. John iii. 3 sqq.; above, pp. 27 sq. The more detailed proof belongs to the treatment of the Johannine system of doctrine.

[3] Μετάνοια, usually translated *repentance*, signifies as such chiefly the change of sentiment (comp. Rom. ii. 4 sq.), which bears immediate "fruit" in an altered course of life (comp. Matt. iii. 8). The other part of repentance is the conversion, στραφῆναι, Matt. xviii. 3, also ἀναγεννηθῆναι; it is this at least in the view of the Apostles. Justin, *Ap.* I. 61: ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασ. τ. οὐρ. Comp. Clem. *Hom.* 11, 26, which remind us at once (ἀναγ. ὕδατι ζῶντι) of John iii. 3 sq. There can be scarcely any doubt of the more genuine character of the formula in Justin and even in the Homilies than of that in John, for in the former it is shorter and simpler, while in John it is deprived of its earlier meaning—which meaning nevertheless still shines through it (verse 4)—of being born again, not of a birth from above. In John, ἄνωθεν *always* means the latter (iii. 11 sq., 31, viii. 32). Contrition, μεταμέλεσθαι, Matt. xxi. 29, 32; πενθεῖν, v. 4; the obedience of faith, πίστις with δικαιοσύνη, xxi. 32; result, xvi. 24.

[4] Matt. v. 25 sq., x. 28, xi. 22 sq., xii. 36, 41, &c.; ib. vi. 26, xv. 20, v. 45; ib. v. 3 sqq.; Luke xv. 11 sqq.; Matt. vi. 12, 14 sq., xviii. 12 sqq.

such utterances there is ever clearly to be seen what he regards as the essence of sin, and also what he regards as the essence of repentance. In antithesis to the sinner's self-seeking and worldliness, to his contempt of God shown in ingratitude, unbelief, indolence, contumacy, accompanied by arrogance, ill-will, and violence towards his fellow-creatures, the spiritual nucleus of repentance is self-renunciation and child-like self-abasement before God and man, in particular the determination of the will to a child-like trust in God as well as to the rendering of a debtor's service to Him.[1] This fundamental conception of repentance, of turning from self and from the world with its enjoyments, but also from its hireling life and its wretchedness, is beautifully described in Luke's parable of the Lost Son who goes forth from the father self-sufficient, but who, "coming to himself," resolves to return to his father.[2] This is in fact the spirit of the repentance taught by Jesus,—not merely, as in John's teaching, the terror of the servant in anticipation of the punishment which will be inflicted by the approaching lord, but the contrition of the child in the presence of his father.

The profounder, the more spiritual and soul-probing, this inner process in the sense of Jesus is, so much the less is it bound up with an external course of action, with external works and signs, in the manner insisted on by John. Here is no making use of the water of the Jordan or of the Lake of Galilee, in order by its coolness and its suffusion and its washing to intensify the consciousness of a solemn break with and cleansing from impurity; here, no confession, no fasting, no giving away of unjustly acquired wealth, is demanded. It is evident that Jesus allows the mourners to fast, but he has nowhere required it; and we

[1] Self-seeking and worldliness, contempt of God, Matt. vi. 24, xvi. 26; Luke xvi. 15; ingratitude, Luke vi. 35, xvii. 18; unbelief, Matt. xvii. 17, comp. vi. 30; indolence, xx. 6; contumacy, xxi. 28 sqq., comp. vi. 24; arrogance towards men, xviii. 28 sqq., xx. 25, xxiv. 49, xv. 19, xxiii. 12; ill-will, xx. 10 sqq. On the other hand, humility, *ταπεινοῦν ἑαυτὸν ὡς παιδία*, xviii. 4, xxiii. 12, comp. *μικροί, νήπιοι. Ἀπαρνήσασθαι*, xvi. 24; doing God's will, vi. 24, vii. 21, xxi. 31 sqq., xxii. 21; reliance, vi. 25, xxi. 21.

[2] Luke xv. 11 sqq. The genuineness of the whole is not therewith admitted.

find confessions made by the lost son, the publican, the debtor who pleads for forbearance at the feet of his lord; but these are parables which rather give a material picture of the inner life of the soul, than demand material observances. We have the case of Zacchæus, who, on Jesus' entry into Jericho, promises to give the half of his goods to the poor and to restore four-fold what he has obtained by extortion; but what Zacchæus does is done voluntarily, and not at the requisition of the Lord. Again, what the Lord requires of the rich young man, he does not require of all, but *only* of him.[1] Jesus is satisfied if he can bring man's heart and will into activity; he leaves to the idiosyncracy of the individual the merely accidental character of the expression of the inward change in outward demeanour, word, and work. And therefore it is no part of the mission of Jesus to ratify to the penitent the Divine forgiveness by a special formula or a laying on of hands. In one respect he resembles John in leaving forgiveness and non-forgiveness to the future definitive judgment of God; in another respect he differs from him in regarding forgiveness as something of which the pious man may by prayer and works at once obtain a direct inward assurance.[2] Jesus' blessing of the children is not here to the point; and the isolated case of the forgiveness of the sins of the paralytic only proves that in exceptional instances of extreme necessity, of very depressed condition of soul, Jesus has recourse to a definite declaration of forgiveness. It is characteristic of the religion of the heart, and of the religion of the fatherhood of God, that Jesus makes the Divine forgiveness and man's assurance of forgiveness dependent neither upon the future nor upon his own dispensing of forgiveness, but upon communion between the heart of God and of man.[3]

From repentance—contrition and turning, extending to mat-

[1] Comp. Matt. vi. 1 sqq., 16, ix. 15; Luke xv. 19 sqq., xviii. 13, xix. 8; Matt. xviii. 26, xix. 21.

[2] Matt. v. 25 sq., vi. 14 sq., xii. 37, xviii. 35. On the other side, vi. 12, vii. 7.

[3] Comp. Matt. ix. 2 sqq., xix. 13. On baptism, fasting, giving, see the appropriate places.

ters of *principle*—flows *practical righteousness*. John also, as we know, insisted upon this righteousness, although with him it retreated almost to the very threshold of repentance, of the contrite broken-heartedness of the servant awaiting his lord who was coming with fire; so that, according to the Gospel account, John does not describe righteousness after the manner of Isaiah, until mòved to do by the crowds of candidates for baptism.[1] And how does he describe it? Merely in roughest outline: "Give bread and clothing to the poor! Do not deceive men!" But the profound basis of all righteousness, according to Jesus, is the unconditional *tendency of the whole nature of the creatures towards their Creator*, the pure and complete *annexation and adherence of the creatures to the Father* in whom they must breathe, live, and be happy. "No man can serve two masters: ye cannot serve God and Mammon. Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust cause them to disappear, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven. What is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"[2] Therefore it behoves us to be indifferent to everything that is external, but to seek the kingdom and its righteousness; to relinquish everything for the treasure, the pearl of the kingdom of heaven; to subordinate to that kingdom even father and mother and brothers and sisters and wife and children, nay, one's own self and one's own life.[3]

This giving up of the whole man to God involves, in reality, far less the giving to God what is one's own, than the accepting from God what is His.[4] According to Jesus, the most important service that can be rendered to God is the boundless and unquestioning faith which is knocking at the gate of heaven in all the circumstances and at every period of life. No cry of the

[1] Luke iii. 8 sqq. Besides Is. lviii. 6 sqq., comp. also x. 1, 2, xi. 5—9. Is. ix.—xi. has already been pointed out as the basis of the preaching of John; see above, p. 45, note 2.

[2] Matt. vi. 19, 24, xvi. 26.

[3] Matt. vi. 33, xiii. 44 sq., x. 37, xvi. 24, xix. 29.

[4] Not so much *ἀποδοῦναι τὰ θεοῦ θεῷ*, Matt. xxii. 21, as *λαμβάνειν*, vii. 7.

Lord's is uttered so unchangeably, so loudly and so fervently, from one end of the Gospels to the other, from Galilee to Jerusalem, as the call to have faith in God, to exercise an undoubting reliance upon the Father; naturally it is the starting-point and the goal of Jesus' anticipation of the kingdom, nay of the whole of his self-consciousness.[1] He animates his hearers to cultivate the carelessness which relies not upon mammon, not upon anxious toil for bread, but upon the God of heaven. He points to the birds of the air, which, though they neither sow, nor reap, nor gather into barns, are nevertheless fed by the heavenly Father of mankind: is not man much more than they? He bids those who are anxious about clothing look upon the pleasant green of the meadows which lasts but until to-morrow; and again, upon the lilies of the field, each flower displaying without toil, without the embroiderer's art, a splendour unequalled by the glory of Solomon's apparel: "how much more shall He clothe you, O ye of little faith!" He shows the folly of such anxiety: is not the life (which man, without anxiety of his own has already received from a Higher One) more than the food, and is not the body more than the raiment? And who, with all his painstaking, can add an ell to his stature? Therefore take no thought, not even for the morrow—such anxiety belongs to the Gentiles; the morrow will take thought for itself, and your heavenly Father knows what ye have need of. Seek first the kingdom and the righteousness of God, and all these things shall be added unto you.[2] One ought not to be anxious even in danger: cannot two birds be bought for a farthing, and not one of them falls to the ground without your Father; but as to you, the very hairs of your head are all numbered; therefore fear not; ye are

[1] Matt. xxi. 21, ἔχειν πίστιν καὶ μὴ διακριθῆναι. Besides God as the object of faith (Matt. xvii. 20; Mark xi. 22, π. θεοῦ), appears Jesus (Matt. xviii. 6), or the Gospel (Mark i. 15), or even John (Matt. xxi. 25), or the prophets, the Old Testament (Luke xxiv. 25).

[2] Matt. vi. 25 sqq. Notwithstanding their introduction into the sermon to the people (see above, pp. 31, 32), these precepts must not be wanting here.

more than many birds.[1] Again, he exhorts to silent, trusting prayer in the closet: the Father sees in secret, the Father asks for no mere verbiage, but only earnest entreaty—ask and it shall be given you. The Father knows what ye need before ye ask; He is as faithful as, He is more faithful than, earthly fathers, who, although they are evil, give neither a stone to the child that asks for bread, nor a scorpion when asked for a fish.[2] Finally, he points to the unlimited, incredible efficacy of faith: everything is possible to the man who believes. He who believes without any inward conflict of faith and doubt, is able to remove mountains, and can say to the mountain, Lift thyself, and cast thyself into the sea, and it shall come to pass.[3]

It is true that this union with God involves also *the giving of what is one's own to God.* But this very giving becomes receiving, for this giving is the imitating of God: the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven is likeness to God. "Ye shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect. Ye shall become the children of your heavenly Father."[4]

The God whom man has to imitate is He who in His very nature is the *good God*, He who alone is good, while men in general are evil.[5] The pure in heart, though not perfect, not absolutely good, are the nearest to Him, and according to the sixth beatitude shall, in virtue of the correspondence of the reward to the conduct, look upon God, to whom nothing approaches that is not pure.[6] Impurity, sin, resides neither in the things—whether food or men—by contact with which men Judaistically imagined themselves to be polluted, nor merely in the external deeds of men, the deeds which are seen outwardly, such as murder or adultery; it exists, indeed, in the words, in the demeanour, which come before the notice of

[1] Matt. x. 19, 29 sqq.
[2] Matt. vii. 7 sqq.
[3] Matt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21 sq. Everything possible, Mark ix. 23.
[4] Matt. v. 45, 48.
[5] Matt. xix. 17, vii. 11.
[6] Matt. v. 8.

others, but it resides yet deeper in the members which prompt to evil, which betray men into evil—in the foot that goes in the bad way, in the hand that is stretched out to seize and to do violence, in the eye that lustfully follows the beautiful form, in the flesh generally that is weak to do good, timid in resisting, and ready to do evil. Sin has its source yet deeper, beneath the flesh, in the hidden recesses of the heart whose eye is darkened, whose spirit is weak, whose thoughts are impure, the heart in which lust and anger are strong, where the evil motions of the will are begotten and whence they issue in deeds of violence.[1] This hidden world also stands under the judgment, the displeasure, and the punishment of God, who sees in secret, who calls men to give account of every vile and false word, who pronounces upon harsh words against one's neighbours, upon the writing of a letter of divorcement, and upon the mere lusting of the eye, the same sentence as upon murder and adultery and upon the nameless sins.[2] For such things are desecrations of God, and—on account of the dignity of the godlike human nature—are profanations and degradations of the human character itself.[3] A new ordinance is laid down: God is to be hallowed, He is to be acknowledged as the Holy One, He is to be feared, and to be preached by good works; the seducing hand or foot is to be cut off and thrown away; and since the outward discipline of the members does not suffice, the eye of the heart is to be purified, motes and beams are to be pulled out, the inner darkness is to be guarded against, temptation is to be withstood, and the Father Himself is to be appealed to for assistance in the hallowing of His name, in the fulfilling of His will, in the resisting of temptation, in order that in the kingdom of

[1] Impurity, Matt. xv. 16 sqq., ix. 11; actions, v. 22, xv. 19; words, xii. 34 sqq., comp. v. 34; demeanour, v. 28; members, v. 29, xviii. 8; flesh, xxvi. 41; the heart the source of outward actions, xv. 8, 19, xviii. 35, xii. 34, ix. 4; appeal to the Old Testament, xv. 8; eye, vi. 22; anger and lust, v. 22, 28 sqq.; thoughts and motions of the will, ix. 4, xii. 25, xv. 19.

[2] Matt. xii. 36, v. 22, 28, 32, vi. 4, 6, 18; Luke xvi. 15.

[3] Matt. vi. 9, xv. 19.

heaven the man may be pure and may look upon Him who is pure.[1]

The imitation of God is the reproduction of His inner goodness within the limitations of human capacity; but, in the second place, it is also the repetition of His *benevolence* in the circle of His creatures. Jesus' doctrine of righteousness often sounds as if he concerned himself only with the individual man, with the restoration of the individual's perfection and godlikeness, and most of all with his salvation, "the salvation of his soul."[2] But the fundamental idea of the Essenes—the salvation of the individual in the shipwreck of the whole—is not the idea of Jesus; Jesus is Johannine, for he thinks of the nation, —and more than Johannine, for he thinks of men as such, of the brethren. The great project of a kingdom of heaven at once prevented him from confining his attention to the individual, and compelled him to have regard to the totality of mankind; and the God whom he believed in did not derive His majesty from the title of the One who was exalted above the world and men, and who existed in creatureless repose and self-contemplation, but from the glory and the overflowing love of His rule in the world, from His care for His creatures, from His purpose to establish a kingdom of heaven upon earth. It is, however, far from being our business here to inquire what rules Jesus prescribed to the new community which he intended to establish; he did not begin with rules for a community, but with rules and with a righteousness for individuals, a righteousness which before everything had regard to all, to the whole community, and which sought in this service to the whole community the most genuine human worship of God.

In fact, we discover at the first glance that the religion of Jesus knows nothing of special, artificial, self-invented forms of

[1] Reverencing God, vi. 9, comp. Is. xxix. 23 sq.; Ezek. xxxvi. 23; good works, Matt. v. 16, vii. 21; casting away what offends, v. 29 sq., xviii. 8; the heart-eye, vi. 22; the beam, vii. 5; temptation, xxvi. 41; the help of God, vi. 9 sqq.

[2] Matt. xvi. 25 sq.

worshipping God. It distinguishes, certainly, the two great commandments of the Old Testament—men are to love God above everything else, and their neighbours as themselves,—and it may allow men, in accordance with previous usage, to dedicate to God, besides prayer, a sacrifice or a fast; but such service is altogether worthless without the performance of duty to one's neighbours; and in the Sermon on the Mount, and in all the addresses both in Galilee and at Jerusalem, the duty to one's neighbours appears as the true and complete service of God.[1] We can also discover at the first glance that the duty to one's neighbours is the true service of God, because God's own activity is service rendered to creatures and to men, and because creatures and men are, in their God-derived dignity, the true and tangible copy of the Divine glory. God causes His sun to shine on the evil and on the good, He gives rain to the just and to the unjust; therefore we are to become the sons of this God by acting similarly, we are to be peacemakers in order to be called the sons of God, we are to be perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect.[2] And how noble is man, whom we are to serve! God cares for the beasts and for the flowers: is not man more than they all? We are accustomed to save the ox, the ass, that falls into the ditch: how much more it behoves us to save man![3] A man is not only our neighbour, he is in the highest sense our brother, for he is the son—our fellow-son—of the heavenly Father.[4] What means, then, "Love thy neighbour as thyself"? In the first place, certainly, it means that we are to do to him what we would have him do to us.[5] In this sentence Jesus is in harmony with Philo and Hillel and with the Old Testament generally, under the humane spirit of which he has himself

[1] Two commandments, Matt. xxii. 34 sqq.; sacrifice, fasting, v. 23, vi. 16; when valueless, v. 23, vi. 14 sq., xviii. 35. The moral precepts dominate in the Sermon on the Mount (even in Matt. v. 33, 37), just as they do in the controversy, xv. 3 sqq., and in the speech to the young man, xix. 17 sqq.; comp. also xxii. 34 sqq.

[2] Matt. v. 45 sqq., v. 9.

[3] Matt. vi. 26 sqq., xii. 11 sq.

[4] Matt. v. 47, vii. 3 sqq., xii. 49 sq., xviii. 21, xxiii. 8.

[5] Matt. vii. 12.

grown up; but he goes much further; he is a creator, and not merely a disciple, of this humane spirit.[1] We are not to condemn our neighbour, we are not to judge him without love; mindful of our own faults, we must first reform ourselves, then our neighbour; we must be men of truth, peacemakers, conciliators in strife, even delaying sacrifice to God until reconciliation be effected, because there is no peace with God without peace with men, and because dissension drives men to judgment. We are not to speak angrily, for the angry word renders us obnoxious to the punishment due to murder. A man may not put away his wife, because divorce is adultery.[2] Here every sin is heightened by being represented as an offence as much against God as against our own and our fellow-man's dignity. The level of the highest virtue, that which is godlike, is reached; for instead of the principle of retaliation, of revenge—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth—submission to violence and to exorbitant demands, and an unlimited forgiveness of offences, are inculcated; instead of the plausible principle of loving our neighbour and hating our enemy, the loving of our enemy and prayer for our persecutor are insisted upon, since the loving of friends and brethren is an easy thing to practise and is common to publicans and Gentiles, and because the loving of enemies is a characteristic of the perfect God.[3] The old precept, Love thy neighbour as thyself, a precept which a man could repeat without pretending to exceptional virtue, is here elevated into the higher, nay, the highest sentiment, Love thy neighbour more than thyself. And yet the old precept remains; for he who so loves, loves himself also, his own dignity as well as that of his neighbour.[4]

Though these sketches of the fundamental moral conceptions of Jesus, as those conceptions lie scattered through all his addresses, and in truth are the fixed and constant central-point of

[1] See Vol. I. p. 337; III. p. 38.

[2] Matt. vii. 1 sqq., v. 9, 22 sqq., 32, 37.

[3] Matt. v. 38 sqq.

[4] Comp. Acts xx. 35: more blessed to give than to receive.

those addresses, may have been here very imperfectly and hastily drawn, yet so much is unmistakably evident, viz., that they rival all that is great and beautiful in the Old Testament—the records of the sublimest morality and humanity—in Philo and Josephus, in the Greek and Roman philosophers down to Seneca and the royal sage Marcus Aurelius; nay, they form the complement to all beginnings. Jesus constantly recognizes the Old Testament foundation. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus bases the weightiest moral rules directly upon the Law and the Prophets; and his weighty principle, "Mercy, not sacrifice," he borrows *verbatim* from the prophet Hosea.[1] In the remarks above, this relationship has been dropped out of view, in order to exhibit the principles in their simplicity and coherence, and provisionally to separate from them the complicated question of Jesus' attitude towards the Law, a question which must be specially treated of. No one can glance at the Sermon on the Mount without perceiving the important fact that Jesus knows nothing of a slavish dependence upon the Law, and that he piously ascribes to the Law and the Prophets that which he, without any conscious separation of the factors of his knowledge, has derived more from his inner life and from his grand views and ideas of God and man, than from the Old Testament.[2] He draws immediately from the Old Testament, and yet also from his own individual nature, his distinctively important and grand combination of religion and morality, that withdrawal from the world and that losing of the soul in God which nevertheless so little excluded a determined heroic bravery in his treatment of himself and the world, that any one who resolved to see but one side of his character would much more readily call him a severe moralist than an emotional mystic or a tender-hearted preacher of grace.[3] But the religion of the Old Testament is confirmed

[1] Matt. v. 17 sqq., vii. 12, ix. 13, xii. 7 (Hosea vi. 6).

[2] Comp. above, Vol. II. p. 185. Also Weizsäcker, p. 360.

[3] Even the preaching of grace by Paul and the Reformers finds in Jesus only points of contact, no absolute ratification. The grace and forgiveness of God are fundamental parts of the doctrine of Jesus; but he never excluded the moral function, either before

and illuminated by the fact that man finds himself—that is, his Father—in God, first through Jesus; and the morality of the Old Testament is heightened in proportion as the duties of man are heightened. Purity of heart now takes the place of the old service of works, and perfection supersedes the old legal righteousness; love without measure is taught instead of love with measure, and philanthropy instead of patriotism.[1]

Nor ought we to overlook the great resemblance between many of the precepts of Jesus and those of the Gentile philosophy, a resemblance which we shall find even if we confine ourselves to the time of Seneca. If thou wilt appease the gods, says Seneca, be good. He who imitates them, pays them becoming worship.[2] But the way of virtue is infinite. Man is not virtuous by nature, nor does he acquire virtue by observing the civil law, or by being better than the wicked. Virtue is not improvement, but a new creation.[3] The lusts and desires are an eternal field of toil. The spirit is to be controlled, as well as the body, the flesh.[4] We are members of a great body.[5] Every one is a citizen of the world, every one is a brother, even the slave. Slaves are men, and a man is a sacred being; and in every one a free divine

or (still less) after the Divine forgiveness. Comp. only Matt. vi. 12, xviii. 32, 33, xii. 37. Though he did not postpone Divine forgiveness until repentance in principle had been followed by works (Matt. ix. 2), yet he in a preponderating degree regarded forgiveness now and in future merely as a *complement* to the ever imperfect moral performance. Sentences referring to absolute forgiveness perhaps only in Luke xviii. 14, xxiii. 43.

[1] That the rule of humanity in the Old Testament is an ideally and nationally limited one, that self-denial has its measure and the conception of revenge its justification, is here generally assumed, but will be treated of in detail when we are examining the Sermon on the Mount; comp. above, Vol. I. p. 337. In the text, it is not intended that Jesus, in teaching philanthropy, already explicitly included in his conception of it the human race absolutely, the Gentiles as well as the Jews. Comp. above, p. 55. But from the beginning, the general idea *man* held in the mind of Jesus an equal or even a superior place to that of *nation*. More in detail when considering the question of heathenism.

[2] Seneca, *Ep.* 73; comp. 31, 41, 66, 95.

[3] *Ib.* 73, 75, 79, 25.

[4] *Ib.* 51, 65 (caro ista, corpusculum). Comp. *Ep.* 8, 24, 102, 108; *Cons. ad Polyb.* 28; *ad Marc.* 24. Comp. Zeller, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1852, pp. 293 sqq.

[5] Seneca, *Ep.* 48, 95.

spirit may dwell.[1] We should do to every one what we wish done to us. Benevolence is in place wherever there is a man.[2] We should help not only our friend, but also the stranger; we should offer the hand to the shipwrecked, show the wanderer the way, give shelter to the outcast, a mite to the needy, and bread to the poor; we should befriend the debtor, and help even our enemy with a gentle hand; we should strike out from our vocabulary that inhuman word *revenge*, and be merciful towards even those that persecute us; and in nothing that we do should we reckon on thanks or renown, but, like the gods, looking for no wages, should be happier in giving than in receiving.[3]

It is not very difficult to collect such a number of instances of resemblance as to restore afresh the proof of Celsus, that Christianity has at most only repeated the maxims of philosophy, and popularized them for the great universal public. But when we look more closely into the matter, we find that the moral ideas of the ancient world lack, in the first place, a religious basis. The important and wholesome equilibrium of piety and morality is altogether wanting. The philosophers speak, as Jesus does, of the good Deity and of imitating the Deity; but that Deity is no ruler of the conscience, only a beautiful dream of the soul, vanishing in the sober light of day.[4] These sublime moral principles, also, dazzle only so long as we do not see the reverse side, and that not merely in practice but in doctrine, which is heathen in conception, though it speaks in Christian language. The moral struggle of the individual against himself and against the world is, however, not so severe as it pretends to be. The heathen, certain of the Deity's indulgence, of His incapability of being offended, comfort themselves with the belief

[1] Seneca, *Ep.* 31, 44, 47, 95; *Benef.* 3, 20; *Vit. b.* 15, 24; *D. ira*, 1, 5; *Ot. sap.* 31.

[2] *Benef.* 2, 1.

[3] *Ep.* 9, 95; *Clem.* 2, 6; *Benef.* 4, 8, 13; 6, 9; *Vit. b.* 21, 24; *Ot. sap.* 28. Forgiveness, *Ir.* 1, 14, 16; 1, 5; 2, 32; *Ep.* 81. Giving, not receiving, *Ep.* 81; *Benef.* 4, 13, 25.

[4] Above, pp. 71 sq. Celsus, Origen, *Con. Cels.* 5, 65; 6, 1.

that depravity in various forms is characteristic of the world, that even the best man errs until he dies, that it is sufficient to wish to do what is good, to avoid some sins, or at least not to become worse than one has previously been; and then, forgetting their imperfections, they cherish the sweet thought that their wisdom and their virtue make them the most acceptable spectacle to the gods.[1] The same virtue that resists the world and its lusts, that endeavours to rise superior to want, to live simply, and to defy fate, is made to harmonize with the accumulation of riches, deprecates the black bread of poverty, and exclaims against the annoyances of a short sea-voyage.[2] Side by side with the universal love of man, stand the repudiation of good deeds—which, at least, are of no use—a fleeing from the crowd, even from political life, prompted by contempt and love of ease. The faults of others, attacks and insults—which are, however, occasionally to be punished — are met by personal pride, commiseration for the absence of culture, and the genuine ancient principle of utility, even though it be merely the utility of escape from punishment for one's own offences.[3] That which is noble wastes itself in sentimental phrases which even Nero, Seneca's pupil, and Domitian indulged in; while in actual life it degenerates into luxurious selfishness or sanguinary strife.

It has necessarily happened, especially in an age that thinks itself great enough to have outgrown Christianity, that an attempt has been made to produce an equilibrium by a disclosure of the weaknesses of the Christian moral theory of the universe, and also naturally by a fresh representation of the so-called superiorities of the ancient Greek, and indeed even of the Roman world. The renowned critic of the life of Jesus some

[1] Pessimism, comp. Seneca, *Vit. beat.* 17, 20; *Benef.* 1, 10. No anxiety in the presence of God, *Benef.* 4, 19; *Ep.* 95. Sublimity, *Prov.* 2, 6; *Vit. b.* 24; *Ep.* 31, 53, 73, 95.

[2] Riches, *Vit. b.* 20. Trials of sea-voyage, *Ep.* 53; comp. Zeller, III. 1, p. 389.

[3] The principle of the *utile*, which is so prominent in Cicero (comp. *Offic.* 2, 18, 63 sq.; 19, 65) is kept more in the background in Seneca, but does not altogether pass out of view; comp. *Ep.* 81; *Ira*, 2, 34; *Vit. b.* 24; *Clem.* 2, 6.

time since expressed the opinion that the Greeks alone, and not the Christians, understood how to bridge the chasm between soul and body; that the Christian, in the best instance, was only an angel riding upon a tamed beast, and by no means a man cast in one single mould. And it has been attempted to find a certain justification of this assertion in the moral teaching of Jesus.[1] In the present day, it is scarcely possible that any one will take the trouble to look for a war of annihilation against the bodily senses in Jesus' teaching concerning the cutting off of offending members; for in every other place Jesus attacks the heart and not the members, and here he throws his meaning into the language of a proverb; and even supposing he were speaking of an ascetic treatment of the members, the passage would as little imply the extermination of the sensuous in man as does the language of Seneca. On the other hand, in the requirement of a complete withdrawal from the world to God, in the rejection of wealth, even of property and of marriage, in the faith in a perfection to be acquired by such abstinence, there has been supposed to lurk in what Renan calls this "over-strained morality," a profound repugnance to, a hostile breach with, a morbid religious shrinking from, the legitimate and spiritually plastic, sensuous-earthly sphere of life; and Geiger accompanies this discovery with the self-complacent remark, "That certainly was not taught by Pharisaism!"[2] But the above view is at once rendered improbable by the fact that the wholesome atmosphere of ancient Judaism, from which Jesus takes his starting-point, is friendly disposed towards the world, while the opposite tendency makes its appearance first in the sect of the Essenes. But the view in question also obviously contradicts the whole spirit of the life of Jesus, who, notwithstanding the censures of the strict, does not fast, but eats and drinks, enjoys the society

[1] Strauss, *Schubarts Leben*, II. p. 468. Zeller on Greek and Christian ethics, in *Theol. Jahrb.* 1850, pp. 440 sqq. Comp. Wirth, *ib.* 1845, pp. 114 sq.

[2] Comp. Renan, pp. 307 sqq., and elsewhere. Geiger, *Das Judenthum u. s. Geschichte*, I. p. 119.

and conversation of the people, does not absent himself from the cheerful feast of gaily-clad guests and prodigal outlay, protects marriage on principle and blesses mothers and their children, associates with rich and poor, and finally promises a kingdom of God, which is also a terrestrial kingdom that finds its perfection in earthly blessing and possessions.[1] And when we examine more closely the weaknesses complained of, we speedily discover two fundamental mistakes on the part of the accusers. One is the ascription to Jesus of the unqualified expressions concerning poverty which Luke, or rather Luke's Jewish source—as has been shown in the Introduction and will again be pointed out—has put into his mouth, in contradiction to the other Gospels. The second and much worse mistake is the coarsely material interpretation of the spiritual act of deciding for the kingdom of God which Jesus insists upon, and which involves, in the cases here of all and there of individuals, separation from what is dearest, renunciation of house and home, property and money, father and mother, the living and the dead, present or contemplated matrimony, and finally also of one's own life; this is treated as if the material things were forbidden as such—though in other circumstances they are not forbidden—and not rather as the fetters that cramp voluntary action and prevent the unconditional and unrestricted sacrifice of everything to the kingdom of heaven, whatever these fetters may be called.[2] Jesus certainly unconditionally proposes the absolute renunciation of what is earthly, of earthly anxiety, and of the laying up of treasures upon earth,—such things are unspiritual, godless, and heathenish; but it is only "for the kingdom of God's sake" that he personally—without compelling others to do the same—foregoes marriage, and takes his disciples away from house and home, whilst in other

[1] Matt. ix. 10 sqq., xi. 19, xxvi. 6 sqq.; ib. v. 31 sq., xix. 9, 13 sq.; ib. xxvii. 57; Luke viii. 1 sqq.; Matt. v. 4, xix. 29.

[2] Comp. Matt. iv. 19 sqq., viii. 21 sq., x. 37, xvi. 24, xix. 21, 29. Such passages as xix. 21 will be enlarged upon in the proper place. Renan, pp. 180 sq., &c., relies essentially upon Luke.

cases it does not occur to him to forbid the enjoyment of the subordinate blessings, property and marriage.[1]

The charges above referred to have recently been toned down. It is admitted that everything that relates to the love of God and of our neighbour, to purity of heart and life in the individual, is fully developed; but it is contended that, nevertheless, there is to be found in the teaching of Jesus too little interest in, too little appreciation of, real and external things, such as the family, the State, earthly toil, business, art, and science.[2] But this is rather asserted than proved. A just critic will not expect a preacher of repentance, a religious reformer, to preach or speak, during the short space of his ministry, upon every individual province of life, or indeed upon modern themes; such a critic will even forgive him if he be one-sided or violently antagonistic towards existing and legitimate powers in his attempt to compel attention to the higher truths which the world no longer hears or has never yet heard. Moreover, such a critic will find that Jesus explicitly supports the rights of the family and even of the State; and that, implicitly, by the spirit of his life and of his addresses, to which nothing that is natural, nothing that is human—neither the beauty of the flower, nor the pearl of the home, nor the sweat of the workman, nor the charm of the wisdom of Solomon, nor even emulation of that wisdom—is foreign, he lovingly fosters the future prosperity of the home and the State, of society, art, and science, nay, that he intimately hides these things in the very roots of his spiritual activity.[3]

Again, some have thought they could detect in the so-called passive virtue of Jesus the fruit of a decaying age. It is thought to be a natural accompaniment of the repudiation of the present

[1] Matt. vi. 19, 25, xvi. 26; ib. xix. 12.

[2] Strauss, *Leben J. für das deutsche Volk*, p. 626; Geiger, p. 171. Renan also (pp. 38 sqq.) finds Jesus without any just conception of the universe and without any suspicion of the nature of science. Comp. *Gesch. Chr.* p. 192.

[3] Matt. v. 28, 32, xix. 3 sqq., vii. 9, xviii. 2, xix. 13; ib. xxii. 21. Flowers, ib. vi. 28; Solomon, xii. 42. Other passages are well known. Comp. Luke xiii. 1. Also Vol. II. p. 169.

life, and of the surrender of real temporal power, that all sense of honour and justice, all idea of law, should be absent from the maxims of Jesus: To him who strikes thee on the right cheek offer the left also, and to him who takes thy cloak give thy coat.[1] But he who thus pedantically expounds these sayings is but a superficial bungler who takes offence at the bold language in which a profound thought is expressed, and fails, in the spirit of a Jew, to understand the patient and enduring love of Christianity; in a word, he is a ridiculous censor, since he altogether overlooks the heroic energy which everywhere accompanies this capacity of patient submission. The patient, much-enduring man is also a martyr and a zealot without mercy. He does not convert weakness into a virtue, nor does he, like Seneca, preach virtue on account of man's weakness; but, with his destructive and constructive bravery that endures until death, he overthrows the strong, the Pharisees, the Jews, and the world; he seasons the old world with salt, and he builds up the new, whose mere vestibule Hillel was not able to complete.

E.—The Method of Jesus.

No one will be inclined to deny that Jesus' manner of representing his views necessarily acquired a variety of forms and colours by reason of the inexhaustible wealth of his mind and the diversity of situations in which he found himself. That he spoke differently before a few and before many, at the hospitable table and in the public address, in the synagogue and among the out-of-door works of God, before the simple people and the schooled Pharisees and the self-trained disciples, before friends and foes, before the impenitent and the penitent and the men of experienced piety, in the beginning of his ministry, during the course of it, and at its close,—all this is easily intelligible, and requires no detailed specification and enumeration of

[1] Geiger, *l. c.* p. 119.

peculiarities.[1] Besides this diversity of modes of teaching, which in the first instance must be taken for granted, but which can, and in its proper place will, be demonstrated, there must nevertheless always have existed a certain unity, a common fundamental character of his method, the peculiarities of which, being more or less conspicuous in all the individual speeches, can, as well as the contents of those speeches, be collected into one comprehensive picture, and thus be made to receive that special attention which they deserve. No one who is impressed with the important subjects of this preaching can remain quite indifferent to the body which the Master of the word has created for the spirit of that word; indeed, we feel at once that, not only the matter itself, but also the garment in which it is wrapped, marvellously excites the passion of appropriation which belongs to the race.

It is certainly difficult to bring into one general view the peculiar mode in which Jesus delivered his sentiments. It is less needful here to concern ourselves with the old question whether the condition of the sources or the free arrangement of the details by the Evangelists, allows of such a general view. However great may have been the liberties taken by the authors with their material—from the fresh rendering of single words and sentences to the artificial construction of the long addresses found, doubtless not without extreme variations, in Matthew and Luke—yet genuine, vigorous, and mutually-related utterances of some of Jesus' fundamental principles, utterances which neither the Apostles nor their immediate successors—Volkmar's "poets" —could ever have originated, are extant in great numbers; and there are also not wanting the close construction and consecutive thread of lengthy addresses, guaranteed either by the harmony of the Gospels or by the evidences of authenticity in the individual source, and on the first firm course of masonry the second is

[1] Speeches at table, Matt. ix. 10, xxvi. 6 sqq., and particularly Luke xiv. The addresses in the synagogues, as we have them in Luke iv. and John vi., are not authentic.

easily built.[1] The difficulty lies altogether in the so thankless, so impossible task of transforming the wealth, life, and spirit of the words of Jesus into formulæ. The narrator of the life of Jesus, like every one else, finds it easier and pleasanter, and notwithstanding the best intentions yields involuntarily to the temptation, to lose himself in the pure impression of that stream of thought, than to study its rhetorical rules, rules which Jesus himself never studied because everything was the fresh and pure outflowing of his spirit. Nevertheless, it is necessary here to arrive at an understanding of the facts,—an understanding that will excite fresh admiration.

The ancients occupied themselves with the attempt to understand the character of the addresses of Jesus. In very many respects the moderns can but repeat what the ancients have already said. But this very unanimity is a welcome evidence of the strength as well as the correctness of the impression. When Justin Martyr, in the first Apology of Christianity to the Roman emperor, sought to give a representation and a synopsis of the great utterances of Jesus, he began with this sentence: "Brief and concise were the words that came from him, for he was not here as a Sophist, but his word was the power of God."[2] Here, in fact, a word is a world, and one sentence embraces heaven and earth. He loves to express himself in short suggestive sayings (*sententiæ*, *γνῶμαι*), like the sages of Greece or Jerusalem; but his depths are deeper, and yet, with the exception of a few later obscure sentences, never forced, affected, involved, like the sayings of the philosophers of Greece, never far-fetched or unnatural, never uncouth, fantastic, like those of the sages of Jerusalem.[3]

[1] The least amount of intellectual vigour is found in the sayings to the Apostles in the Acts of the Apostles; but in Paul it is weaker in respect of force of intuition and of profundity. In the reasoning and dialectic element it is more equable.

[2] Apol. I. 14: *βραχεῖς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γεγόνασιν. οὗ γὰρ σοφιστὴς ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ δύναμις θεοῦ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἦν.* Comp. above, Vol. I. p. 175, note 4. Strauss (p. 253) mentions the passage. Besides the remarks of Strauss (*l. c.*), see Pressensé, p. 354, on the style of Jesus.

[3] An obscure passage, worthy of the Gospel of the Egyptians, Mark ix. 49 sq. Several such in the fourth Gospel; comp. only John vi.

Only one Being is good. Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, to God what is God's. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living. Away with the leaven of the Pharisees. New wine in new skins. The sick, and not the healthy, need the physician. First pluck the beam out of thy own, then the mote out of thy brother's eye. One should not strain at gnats and swallow camels. Ye are the salt of the earth; ye are the light of the world. I will make you fishers of men. The city on the hill is not hidden. The candle should be placed on the candlestick; the saltless salt is thrown away. The eye is the light of the body; if the light in thee be darkness, what a darkness! Jesus often speaks in enigmas, yet every reader half or entirely solves his enigma. Let the dead bury their dead. A camel shall go through the eye of a needle before a rich man shall enter the kingdom of God. There are those who are born eunuchs, there are eunuchs made so by men, and there are eunuchs for the kingdom of God's sake. John is the greatest of those that are born of women; yet the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. He who saves his life, loses it; he who loses it, finds it. Not seven times, but seventy times seven, must forgiveness be exercised! These concise sayings are at the same time for the most part metaphors, and they are seasoned with the genuinely Eastern figurative style of speech, a style which, on account of its simplicity and naturalness, is nevertheless quite intelligible to the more prosaic inhabitants of the West. This style makes that which is most obscure, most mysterious, most spiritual, humanly perceptible; and it throws over its subject not only the glamour of poetry, but also that of a longing presentiment which looks towards yet does not penetrate the secret, understands yet does not master the full meaning, grasps yet ever eagerly seeks to grasp its object again: for these boughs and blossoms with their alluring beckoning incessantly entice man towards what is higher.

Jesus seldom speaks in abstract terms of God the Lord, the Creator, of God's perfection, and of man's sin, self-desecration,

and restoration. A conception generally assumes to him the character of an intuition, and an idea is condensed into figures which one can lay hold of. Jesus speaks in this language in the first place because he speaks to the people, and because his pulpit and church are often God's free air, and offer him the figure and outward sign of the spiritual word which he wishes to utter. But he speaks thus also for his own sake: for with all the profundity and spirituality of his theory of the universe, he, as a child of the nation, is circumscribed by those limitations of thought within which the conceptions of life and soul had flowed to himself, and he has also, more innerly and meditatively than any other, derived the most fructifying truths directly from the school of nature and of experience.[1] Hence he confounds, by no means in principle and not absolutely in his language, the sensuous and the super-sensuous, the natural and the spiritual, the creature and God. On the contrary, it is everywhere noticeable that he speaks of "likenesses," that he keeps apart or seeks to keep apart the two provinces; but he nevertheless finds in the one so complete a copy and sign of the other, that he boldly transfers the name from one to the other, and from the facts on one side deduces the most certain conclusions as to facts on the other.[2] Thus his sayings are always parables, though he does not in the beginning so carefully and fondly develop them as at a later period, but only gives sketches and allusions, or mingles figurative and unfigurative language directly together. God is to him a king who sits on the throne of heaven and has the earth for His footstool; God is the lord of a vineyard, the owner of slaves, a judge on a seat of judgment; but He is also a hospitable host who sends out friendly invitations, a father who loves His children. Man is sometimes servant, sometimes child, and again sometimes a plant under the protection of God, a vine,

[1] Like the Hebr. *nephesh*, ψυχή is, in the language of Jesus, sometimes simply the physical vital principle (Matt. vi. 25), and sometimes the higher and imperishable spiritual principle (x. 28, xvi. 26).

[2] Likenesses, comp. Matt. xiii. 3, 24 sqq. (vii. 24 sqq.), xxii. 2. Certain conclusions, *e. g.*, Matt. vii. 9 sqq., 16 sqq., xii. 33.

a tree, a fig-tree, bearing fruit or being prevented from bearing fruit by its unsoundness at the core; or, indeed, man is a weed that deceives by means of its leaves. Sin is a darkening of the eye in which the disease resides, or in which beams and straws are lying and need to be plucked out. Sometimes the sinner is like a lamb that wanders in the wilderness; sometimes like a child in the market, to whose playful humour no one responds; sometimes like a guest who disdains the host's table; sometimes like a workman who is too lazy to accept the work offered to him; sometimes like a violent and angry man who abuses his fellow-servants, calls his neighbour "fool," or strikes him in the face. Jesus himself is the physician who visits the sick, the good shepherd who goes into the wilderness after the lost sheep; his disciples are the fishers of men, the light, the salt of the world. It is characteristic of this figurative language that the material and the spiritual often lie almost or quite indissolubly together. When Jesus threatens the litigious man with the judge to whom he appeals, he is speaking in the first place of the earthly judge who is able to punish; but we are compelled to remember that above the earthly judge there stands a yet stricter one in heaven. When he requires us to cut off and cast away an offending member, a hand or a foot, we are conscious that literal compliance does not suffice, and, however much painful effort it may cost, is almost resultless as to the spiritual sense. When he charges us to offer the second cheek to the violent man who has struck the first, angry stupidity at once rises against the severe rule which seems to demand literal and material obedience. In this indefinite fluctuation of the boundary line between the figure and the thing signified, between body and spirit, we may discern a defect, an uncertainty, or even an intangibility, in the teaching of Jesus; we can, however, console ourselves, not merely with the reflection that that age lived upon metaphor and yearning anticipation even in reference to the most important questions, but also with the knowledge that in this way alone Jesus wrought the greatest results, that he moved

his hearers even by means of that which remained obscure, and that his fundamental conceptions were always clearly exhibited.

But the figurativeness of the language of Jesus is only one feature of his style: intimately associated with it are an extreme sobriety and an intellectual vigour. Fancy is here never the end, but the instrument that serves the end, and is always kept within modest limits. Jesus' language is the expression of a personality which is always gazing upon the nature and will of God and of the universe, clearly and keenly, yet calmly, and with uncovered countenance, without exaggerated emotions, without enthusiasm, without either apocalyptic or æsthetic dreams. And it is the expression of a position in the nation and of a prophetic office, the business of which is directly and concisely and simply, but also truly and convincingly and with the compelling force of sound reasons and of moral impulse, on the sole basis of facts and of experience, to commend to the hearers the true, ultimate, only real interests, and to unmask and to make unpalatable the untrue interests.[1] Baur has finely, yet not altogether satisfactorily, expressed himself upon this point: These words, he says, are an epitome of the purest and most immediate truths that can be brought home to the moral-religious consciousness, and which here, in the simplest and most popular manner, are made accessible to the universal consciousness of mankind.[2] There are considerations on the true salvation and the true dignity of man, in which the facts are examined, the conclusion inexorably deduced, and men are required, without the instigation of any collateral inducement, to conform to the logic of circumstances—of their understanding, of their heart, of the decisive moment, though their past course of life be thereby rendered ridiculous or indeed blamable.[3] What is the use of treasures, of anxiety, of gaining the whole world;

[1] Matt. xvi. 26: What will it profit a man?

[2] *Das Christenthum, &c., der drei ersten Jahrh.* 1853, pp. 25, 35.

[3] Inducements based on appeals to national honour and greatness he never offers, but rather on appeals to the dignity of man.

of what avail is it to divide one's service cunningly between two masters, if there is only One Master, He whose advent is at hand, who is able to save body and soul, or to cast both into prison, into hell! This mode of treatment possesses some resemblance to the Socratic method: it is different in form and tone, but it shares with that method acuteness and inexorability of logic, a basis of facts and an astonishing self-knowledge. This eminent logic, which as a rule has been too little noticed, is seen even in the compactness and conciseness of the sentences, which exhibit themselves to us either as propositions or conclusions. There is absolutely no superfluous word: the last word just suffices to make the sense intelligible, or perhaps merely to make an allusion apparent; and the copious manner, the pedantic explanatory style, was first introduced by Mark, in direct antagonism to the spirit of Jesus.[1] This logic is equally apparent in the systematic, exact sequence of the individual points that compose a theme, and chiefly in the inferences and indeed in the syllogisms often formally expressed or at least implied in the controversial as well as the doctrinal addresses, in which there frequently occurs the inference of similarity, the inference from small to great and vice versa, the inference of the excluded third, or that of the impossible.[2] The inferences in the controversial addresses, especially those against the Pharisees or the Sadducees, and again especially in the expository references to the Old Testament, have been held to be rabbinical or indeed sophistical; and upon several points it can be proved that Jesus argued similarly to Hillel and the great Scribes: but there is never in him anything over-subtle, never any lurking fallacy, but all is nature, veracity, intelligibility, directly enlightening force; and even when he appears to force his own meaning upon words, we find in close connection therewith a sagacity and a profundity in

[1] Comp. Mark vii. 18 sqq., viii. 17 sqq.; comp. also above, Vol. I. p. 133.

[2] This admirable sequence of the several points is especially observable in the Sermon on the Mount, in the parabolic addresses, and in the controversial addresses (comp. Matt. xv. 23). Syllogisms, Matt. vi. 24 sqq., vii. 7 sqq., 16 sqq., xii. 3 sqq., 11 sqq., 25 sqq., xv. 17 sqq., xxiii. 17 sqq.

which a discerning religious mind learns to reverence a new truth, though that truth was not within the reach of the authors of the old Scriptures.[1] Thus in Jesus' mode of speaking we have again a strong proof of the great and harmoniously complete mind which originated it: everything here flows pleasantly together—perception and conception, fancy and abstraction, a nature which, though oriental, yet in its power of clear abstraction, its moderation and self-control, and its moral direction, was at the same time occidental: in every respect an organ for all, a teacher of the world.

In this delineation of the style of Jesus' teaching, special prominence has been given to the earlier Gospels. Neither Justin's description nor our own answers to the style of teaching in the fourth Gospel. It is true, some degree of similarity is not wanting: the fourth Gospel can never altogether ignore the fundamental features of the life of Jesus. Thus we have here also old and new concise, profound sayings of Jesus, as well as, very occasionally, a style richly figurative, and even a beautiful amplification of the old parable of the Good Shepherd. With all this we find, moreover, dialectic acuteness and mastery, and everywhere fine, sublime, vigorous, and sweet utterances of Jesus. On this account, many are still inclined to explain away or reconcile the differences between John and the other Gospels.[2] But the impartial reader cannot escape from the conviction that in the fourth Gospel he is introduced to quite another world. Instead of the brief, concise sayings of the Synoptics, we have here long, endless addresses, enlivened only by the objections of

[1] Comp. Matt. xii. 3 sqq., xxii. 29 sqq. Strauss's censure, pp. 259 sq. More in detail at the appropriate place.

[2] Occasional occurrence of sayings contained in the Synoptics, *e.g.* John ii. 16, 19, 33, iv. 44, xiii. 16. Fresh sayings, *e.g.* iii. 6, 16, iv. 10, 14, 21 sqq., 35. The metaphors light, darkness, life, death, food, drink, the wine, sheep, &c. The passage about the good shepherd is (contrary to Weizsäcker) pure parable, x. 1—5; on the other hand, the passage about the vine, xv. 1 sqq., is pure allegory. Lücke (pp. 123 sqq.), while recognizing the difference between John and the Synoptics, seeks to explain it away. The most recent investigation of the subject in Holtzmann's *Schriftst. Verh. d. Joh.*, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1869, p. 62.

opponents, addresses concerning the retention of which in the memory of the reporter considerable anxiety has long been felt; instead of distinct and certain progress, we have circumlocution and repetition; instead of sharp decisive pooof, we have a preponderance of assertions, confessions, and exclamations; instead of the sustained prophetic style, we have perpetual exhibitions of emotion, sometimes of irritability and bitterness, and sometimes of a weak and effeminate sensibility. Instead of the wealth of themes of the other Gospels, we have here a single, monotonous, central subject, the divinity of Jesus, set in a complete compendium of dogmatics; instead of the concrete world of the sensuous and moral consciousness, we have abstract ideas and antitheses; instead of the strong, sensuous, independent life of the parables, we have a mere external decorating of the dominant personality, of what the writer holds to be the correct idea, with allegorical upholstery; instead of the actual enigmas of nature, we have artificial obscurities and distortions. In a word, in contrast with the natural, vigorous, and inimitable originality of the new Master of religion, here stands the clever and acute, but subtle and artificial, rejuvenizing and reproduction of the figure and teaching of Christ out of the thought and feeling of a later age, out of the philosophy and mysticism of the highly sensational Christianity of the second century, the Christianity that was wresting its Lord from the destructive hands of Gnosticism, and was casting itself with love to the former and abhorrence of the latter into the bosom of him who had the words of eternal life for Gnostic and for all other times.

If it be asked how far the utterances of Jesus can be shown to be rhetorical or poetical productions, the answer is, they are neither orations nor poems. The aim of Jesus did not consist in endeavouring to influence his hearers by means of art, or by gratifying an æsthetic taste: he aimed at convincing and saving. His words, the means of producing that conviction, sought to produce their effect by their matter, by the disclosure of facts

and the commendation of the truth, not by a brilliant and fascinating style. Nor are his separate addresses carefully thought out, polished, and written down, elaborated here into a powerful passage, there into a beautiful one, as was the case even with the prophets; but they are the impromptu and natural outflow of his personality and of the moment. Thus our demands must be moderate; and we have no right to institute a comparison between Jesus and the Greek orators and poets, or even the prophets. There is no doubt that among those orators, poets, and prophets, we meet with more of the effect of rhetoric, a closer attention paid to the proportionate treatment of things great and small, as well as more of sublime description and lyrical sentiment. But if we take the addresses of Jesus as they are, in their natural construction, and in the shape which the Evangelists—often rather destroyers than builders up—have given to them, we shall, in view of them in the gross, and yĕt more in their details, be surprised to discover an innate art of speaking eloquently and convincingly, of dressing the weightiest matters in the most appropriate clothing; and having tried Jesus by this test, we cannot speak of him otherwise than as a master who even in this province was capable of the highest, and who would have achieved the highest had he been conscious of a vocation in this direction. We discover the born orator, indeed without any flattery the orator, in his laying bare of the decisive point of a question, in his detection of the false statement of a question, in the lucidness of his divisions, in the sharpness of his antitheses, in the convincing clearness and drastic penetrating force of his proofs and his refutations. We see the orator also in his brevity, as elegant as it is pithy, in his careless treatment of the best example of the good and the bad, which by its simple statement is condemned or justified, in the fulness and abundance of the views and metaphors which appear at his bidding, and prevent the paucity of his favourite pictures from giving the impression of want and poverty — an impression

which might be most readily produced by the fourth Gospel.[1] At one time he fixes the strained attention by stating a dilemma, throwing in some remarkable similes, and dunning the hearer with a string of questions which the hearer is often left to answer for himself; at another time, he assists the understanding and the recollection by articulate divisions or by standing introductory and closing formulæ.[2] Sometimes he becomes impressive by repeating single words and sentences, partly in series of sacred numbers, by bringing together positive and negative statements or by parallelisms of kindred turns of thought, by strong emphasis, by series of increasingly vigorous expressions, and by forcible concluding images.[3] Sometimes he bursts forth into interrogative reproaches and sudden counter-questions, into censures, denunciations of woe, and crushing irony, into a breathless heaping-up of unconnected sentences and of powerful closing apostrophes.[4] Sometimes, again, his sorrowfulness finds expression in irony, sometimes he is affecting in the tenderness of his entreaty, which like a clear mirror gives a real picture of the compassionate and humble speaker.[5] He breathes the spirit of poetry chiefly into the utterances delivered in the confiding

[1] Examples everywhere in the Sermon on the Mount. Decisive point of a question, comp., besides the Sermon on the Mount, Matt. xv. 11, 20, xxiii. 17 sqq. Division, comp. vi. 25, 28, 31 sqq.; antitheses, vi. 19 sqq., xii. 33, xvi. 26; abundance of figures, vi. 26 sqq., vii. 7 sqq., 16 sqq., 24 sqq., xi. 7 sqq., xiii. 1 sqq.; repetition chiefly in the figures of the tree, the seed, and the harvest. The figures in the fourth Gospel are notoriously repeated.

[2] Dilemma, vi. 24, xii. 33; questions and retarded answers, xi. 7 sqq., comp. vii. 16, 22, ix. 4 sq., xii. 3 sqq., 11 sqq., 26 sqq., xvi. 26; articulation, introductory and concluding formulæ, comp. Sermon on the Mount and xxiii.

[3] Repetition of words, xxiii. 37; introductory and concluding formulæ, v. 3, 21 sqq., vi. 1 sqq.; positive, negative, vii. 13 sq., 17 sq., 24 sqq.; parallelisms, v. 27 sq., vii. 7 sqq., 24 sqq.; Mark ix. 42 sqq.; emphasizing, Matt. xv. 7, 20; expressions increasing in emphasis, vii. 7; concluding figures, vii. 24 sqq.

[4] Reproaches, Matt. ix. 4, xii. 27, 34, xvi. 2 sq.; counter-questions, comp. xv. 3; denunciations of woe, xi. 21 sqq., xxiii. 13 sqq.; unconnected sentences, x. 8 sq., xxvi. 40 sq., 45, 55, especially Mark xiv. 41 sq., 48 sq.; concluding apostrophes, Matt. vii. 5, 23, ix. 6, xi. 22 sqq., xii. 7, 12, 32, 39, 49 sq., xvi. 4, xxi. 27, xxiii. 37 sqq. Renan, p. 334: Only a God could so kill, not a Socrates, nor a Molière!

[5] Matt. xi. 16 sqq., 28 sqq.

intimacy of his friends, those utterances which form the kernel of his teaching, that sun of his self-consciousness, that spring-gladness of an earth wedded to God; in those utterances he paints the birds of the air in the toillessness and freedom from care with which the great good Creator has favoured them, and the lilies of the field in the marvellous festive beauty of nature's apparel, unsurpassed by king Solomon.[1] Here he is in perfect harmony with his love-winning message. At the close of the Sermon on the Mount, in the mission sermon and the preaching about the future, he vividly depicts scenes from nature and from history. In this he contrasts less strongly with the prophets and even with the Baptist, whose peculiar Titanic province lay just here. *Their* emblem was the storm, *his* the sun.

F.—The Localities in which Jesus preached.

Speaking generally, Jesus at first confined his ministry to Galilee, his home. As to this fact, the three older Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles are quite unanimous against the fourth Gospel, which allows the home to appear as little in the prophet as the prophet in the home, and brings Jerusalem, "the only appropriate place," and also Samaria, the future first-fruits of the believing Gentiles, into the foreground, at the expense of Galilee, "the corner."[2] Allegiance to history is, certainly, to some extent, preserved: Jesus ministers thrice—in all a year—in Galilee, and thrice in Jerusalem; from the scene of John's baptizing, he retreats to Galilee, where he ministers and works miracles, at least in the midst of a narrow circle; in his second and third journeys, he seeks and finds refuge from his Jerusalemite opponents; he narrowly escapes being proclaimed king in Galilee, where, notwithstanding all the opposition he en-

[1] Matt. vi. 25 sqq., x. 29 sqq.

[2] Ewald, *Joh. Schriften*, p. 13, and *Gesch. Christus*, 3rd ed. p. 333. On the Samaritan-Gentile ministry, in its appropriate place. Schleiermacher (p. 180) calls the Galilean position an *opinion*. John i. 47, iv. 44, vii. 3, 4, 52. To a certain extent, the Evangelist distributes the unbelief among the brethren and the Jews.

counters, he is never in danger of losing his life, as at Jerusalem; and at Jerusalem itself he is later named, from his home, the prophet out of Galilee. Nevertheless, not only is the whole of the second great period spent in the south and not in the north, but in the first period Jesus does not appear publicly before the nation first in Galilee, but in Jerusalem, whither his eye is turned and whither he directly hastens; in the second Galilean journey he finds in Galilee—a district of whose attachment to its native prophet he had from the beginning a low estimate—a readiness to hear and to receive him only on account of his notorious miracles in Jerusalem; and the third Galilean journey closes with a great and general declension of the people, in contrast with the strong and pure faith of Samaria and even with the faith of many Jerusalemites.[1] The question of the superiority of one or the other of these accounts need not be further dwelt upon. It is possible that the Johannine account may still commend itself to many as the more exact, and especially as affording a correct and striking explanation of the retreat to Galilee, on the ground of a mistrust on the part of the Jerusalemites of a southern ministry of Jesus commenced while John was still preaching: but history dispels this illusion by the single consideration that Jesus' foresight and wisdom would not have allowed him to begin his peculiar and—notwithstanding the fourth Gospel — undeniably fundamentally different ministry either at or near the scene of the Baptist's labours. Whoever wishes to give a different account must tell of a public appearance of Jesus on the same ground as the Baptist, of a necessity of transferring the ministry to Galilee, and then again of restless glances towards and visits to Jerusalem. Undoubtedly

[1] Comp. John i. 44—ii. 12, iv. 1—54, vi. 1—vii. 1. The saying of Jesus about the prophet in his own country, iv. 44, a *crux interpr.*, has been erroneously interpreted—under the guidance of Origen and others—by the critical school, as if he had called Judæa his home. But the author does not treat history so freely as that (comp. i. 46, vii. 3, 41, 52); nor does he require the reader thus to treat it. The context, also, points forwards and backwards only to Galilee, where the prophet has no weight until he has made himself a position in the metropolis. Thus Lücke, Tholuck, De Wette, Meyer, Scholten.

this would be to follow the narrative of the fourth Gospel, but—a high price to pay!—it would be to load the person of Jesus with impossibilities, indiscretions, and improbabilities of all kinds.[1]

If we accept it as historically true that Jesus, without any vacillation, without experiment, without Ewald's "period of probation," took up his position at once in Galilee, and not in Judæa, nor in Peræa, it is not thereby asserted that he renounced the south and Jerusalem. As Jew, as Prophet, as Messiah, if he were conscious of being such, he could not forget "the city of the Great King."[2] And not only does his later journey to the south, undertaken in the midst of unfavourable circumstances as a necessity imposed by heaven, reveal his steadfast leaning towards Jerusalem; but his previous reference of the leper to the priests, with the view of bearing testimony to the priesthood, plainly shows the direction of the thoughts of Jesus.[3] He had certainly not previously come into contact with the Jerusalemites, not even by occasional festival journeys to the Temple. These festival journeys belong, indeed, to the mechanism of the fourth Gospel; but the older Gospels contain no traces of his own journeys, but refer rather to the journeys of his Galileans. The older Gospels plainly represent the later journey as a complete novelty; and the pilgrimages to the Temple, no longer obligatory on the Jews outside of Jerusalem, and at least reduced

[1] For fuller details, see above, Vols. I. pp. 177 sq., II. p. 351 sq. The most plausible harmony between the Synoptics and John is to be found by seeking the Synoptical retreat of Jesus to Galilee, in order to labour there, less in John i. 44 than in iv. 1, where Jesus for the first time contemplates a lengthened stay in Galilee, because his John-like ministry in the south has become obnoxious to the hierarchy. The fourth Gospel, indeed, would place the imprisonment of John about this time; comp. Matt. iv. 12. Yet, notwithstanding the necessity of establishing himself in the north instead of in the south, Jesus was, according to John v. 1, already again in Jerusalem. Hausrath (*N. T. Zeitgesch.* I. pp. 385 sqq.) has recently spoken, in a purely fantastical manner, of a wandering of Jesus to Jerusalem through Samaria, when he was driven out of Capernaum, after the healing of the paralytic, and when he had been threatened with execution by the synagogue and Antipas. The grounds are untenable, as, *e.g.* the passage in Matt. xi. 7 sqq. is supposed to be directed to the *Jerusalemites*.

[2] Is. lx. 14; Ps. xlviii. 2; Matt. v. 35.

[3] Matt. viii. 4.

from three to one, do not harmonize with the principles, the composedness, and the discretion of Jesus.[1] He had, nevertheless, come into contact with Jerusalem while in Galilee; for not only did the Galileans who made pilgrimages to Jerusalem bring back reports of what was occurring in that city, and of the doings of Pilate and the Scribes, but there was also not wanting a flocking to him of the people from Judæa and Jerusalem, a circumstance narrated by Matthew only too early. This flocking of the people to him proved, as well as did the tentative advances made to the new Teacher by Jerusalemite Scribes and Pharisees, that friend and foe outside the narrow provincial boundaries felt that he who had newly appeared upon the scene had a mission to the whole land.[2]

The localities of the Galilean ministry of Jesus are from the very beginning difficult to discover; and this difficulty increases rather than diminishes during the progress of his ministry. But critics are unanimous in holding that Jesus began his preaching of the kingdom in the already described Lower Galilee, on the shores of the charming lake of Gennesaret, in proud and smiling Capernaum.[3] For though Luke, contrary to Matthew, represents the preaching of the kingdom as opening in Galilee generally, and at Nazara in particular—which is quite unhistorical,—yet, even according to Luke, Jesus quickly goes to Capernaum. And though, according to Mark, the preaching of the kingdom

[1] No trace of any festival journeys of Jesus, but rather of those of others, Luke xiii. 1; the novelty, Matt. xvi. 21, xxiv. 1; the supposed traces, Matt. xxvi. 6, 18, Luke x. 38, Matt. x. 4, xxvii. 57, xxiii. 37, cannot be any longer seriously referred to; comp. *Gesch. Chr.* p. 19, note. Principles, not only v. 35, xxi. 13, xxiii. 16 sqq., but also ix. 13, xii. 7, v. 23 sq., vi. 6. Discretion, see Vol. II. pp. 347 sq. Composedness: in his situation, travelling was only a distraction. It is true that according to Exod. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23, Deut. xvi. 16, festival journeys three times a year were required by the Law; but Luke ii. 41 shows that the reduction to one journey a year, which was customary in the case of those who lived at a great distance, was also customary even for the not distant province of Galilee. Comp. Vol. I. p. 303. But the guests at the sacrificial feasts were the commissioned deputies of thousands who did *not* go up; see Vol. I. p. 279.

[2] Matt. iv. 25, comp. Luke vi. 17; Matt. xv. 1 and Mark vii. 1; finally, Luke v. 17.

[3] See Vol. II. pp. 354 sqq.

began while Jesus was journeying, and the gates of Capernaum opened to him only in consequence of the calling of Simon, whose house was there, yet this account places the first trophies of Jesus' ministry at Capernaum.[1] On the other hand, there remains the great difference that in Matthew and Luke, and approximately even in John, the preaching at Capernaum bears the character of that of a resident, but in Mark of that of one who was merely passing through the town. Matthew represents Jesus as formally settling at Capernaum. In Luke, a protracted course of preaching at Capernaum follows Jesus' departure from his native town Nazara. But in Mark, Jesus is in Capernaum only on one Sabbath, and hurries away again on his journey in the middle of the night, fleeing even from his companions, in order to be faithful to his far-extending missionary vocation.[2] Thus from the very beginning we have totally different representations of the ministry of Jesus: one, the picture of a quiet, persistent, slowly but surely constructive, well-considered, and to some extent pleasurable labour; another, the picture of a hurried, breathless, and superficial multiform activity. The final verdict already lies in this alternative. Jesus, certainly, is a follower of John; he certainly is a zealous worker; but much more is he a discreet master-builder, a patient pioneer, an enemy of mere effect and of boisterous popular excitement. In the latter respect, he contrasts consciously with the Baptist; and it is a result of this conscious difference that one of his characteristics came after the other, that he first of all settled in his native province, and there frequented the dwelling-places of men, and encamped as it were in those dwelling-places, establishing himself at one point and concentrating his labours upon that point, wishing there to produce results and to build for himself a strong citadel of refuge, and one from which he might extend his operations. As an historical evidence in favour of Mark's

[1] Luke iv. 14 sqq., 31 sqq. Moreover, Luke's narrative is self-contradictory in referring to a previous activity in Capernaum, iv. 23; Mark i. 14 sqq., 21 sqq.

[2] Matt. iv. 12 sqq.; Luke iv. 31; Mark i. 21; comp. below.

representation, we may recall the fact that, according to Matthew and Luke, Jesus afterwards travelled about, and that he uttered the well-known sentence about the shelterlessness of the Son of Man; but of course the later does not exclude the earlier and the earliest; and the persistent return to Capernaum in all the Gospels, the pronouncing the bitterest "Woe!" over Capernaum in particular, and indeed the distinct recognition in Matthew of Jesus' liability to be taxed in this "his" town, are striking evidences in proof of his earlier fixed settlement.[1] It is also plainly to be seen how Mark has arranged—though not without error—his also in other respects forced picture of the ministry of Jesus out of his predecessors: Matthew had described a one day's ministry of Jesus at Capernaum, in the very same surroundings, only he had previously given Jesus' settlement in that town; and Luke had described a Sabbath ministry there, and an early morning departure thence on a missionary tour, but he had evidently enough described this Sabbath as one among many.[2] The opinion that there was a persistent connection with, a constant limitation to, the immediate neighbourhood of Capernaum, is far more historically defensible than a disconnection of Jesus with Capernaum in the perpetual restlessness of missionary labour; and this is so because there exist very few certain tracks of his routes, and only isolated glimpses of his presence

[1] Matt. viii. 20, to which Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 369; comp. Pressensé, p. 422) appeals against me, as if it contradicted a residence in Capernaum. The woe, Matt. xi. 23; liability to be taxed, xvii. 24 sqq. The persistent return to Capernaum is supported also by the other Gospels; see Vol. II. p. 354. Hence the misplacement of the residence in Matthew is to be ascribed to the original Evangelist, and only the Scripture passage to the second hand. The second volume has given data sufficient against Hilgenfeld, whose criticism is only subjective, for he even strikes out of the original text (p. 392) the house of Jesus (Matt. ix. 10, 28, xiii. 1).

[2] The forced representation of Mark (comp. i. 35, iii. 20 sq.), see Vol. I. p. 133. In Luke iv. 31—in contradistinction to Mark i. 21 sqq., notwithstanding the similarity of expression in other respects—a protracted ministry in Capernaum is spoken of ("he was teaching," comp. Luke iv. 15, xix. 47, xxi. 37), a fact overlooked by the hasty, yet in the opinion of some historically correct, Mark. Thus Weisse (I. p. 288) thinks that Matthew deduced the residence at Capernaum from Mark.

here and there. But even this opinion would be an exaggeration.[1]

Notwithstanding Jesus' settlement in Capernaum, the evangelical tradition, on its side, unanimously insists upon an extensive missionary plan from the very beginning; it is repeatedly asserted that Jesus went through the whole of Galilee, into all the cities, towns, and villages, and preached in their synagogues.[2] This report carries weight with it on account of the definiteness with which it makes its appearance; and it seems quite in character with the man who had a mission to the whole of Israel, who proclaimed the kingdom that was both heavenly and earthly, and who placed the advent of that kingdom so near; who afterwards sent forth twelve Apostles to the four winds and to the twelve tribes, and eventually himself turned his course towards Jerusalem and his face towards the Gentiles. While the Baptist had summoned the people together at one point, in order to expound to them the question of the day, the continuation of this work in the altered form demanded by the position and the idiosyncracy of Jesus, was, it seems, possible only by means of an alternation of sojourn and travel, whereby Jesus might visit city after city, district after district, and thus quietly, yet energetically and effectually, prepare men's minds for the great day of the future. On the other hand, by the side of the settlement in Capernaum, there stands the important fact that the very Evangelists who write so much in a general way about the journeyings of Jesus, know as good as nothing about the details of those journeyings, with the particular exception of those that belong to a late period. For even the journey of Jesus to the

[1] It is easy to show that, in the Synoptics, Capernaum is the continual central point of the early period of Jesus' ministry. Comp. Matt. viii. 5 sqq., ix. 1, 28, xi. 20, xii. 9, 46, xiii. 1, 36, xiv. 34, xvii. 24; Luke vi. 6, vii. 1, viii. 4, 19, 40; Mark ii. 1 (ii. 13, 23), iii. 1, 19 sqq., iv. 1, v. 21, vi. 53, ix. 33. According to Volkmar (p. 70), Matthew had again forgotten the residence at Capernaum, in viii. 1 sqq., 20.

[2] Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, xi. 1, 20; Luke iv. 15—44, v. 12, viii. 1, xiii. 22; Mark i. 21, 38, 39, vi. 2, 6.

remote Nazara, and its neighbouring places Cana and Nain—supposing the latter be admissible at all—evidently belong to an advanced period; the journey to Gadara, besides being no missionary journey, is awkwardly placed early by Matthew; and finally, the great concourse of people at the Sermon on the Mount, although narrated generally, and perhaps to be accepted as the consequence and effect of a widely-extended missionary progress, does not in the place in which it is found exist for history. It might, therefore, be advisable to suspend our judgment upon all the reports of early missionary journeys, together with the express declaration of Jesus concerning his missionary vocation, which Luke and Mark have unhistorically made him utter as early as in the first four weeks, or indeed in the first days, and to explain them as the result partly of making Jesus resemble the missionaries of the apostolic age, and partly of confounding the earlier with the later events in the life of Jesus.[1]

Yet we cannot go quite so far as this, and especially because the sayings of Jesus to those who wished to follow him—sayings which, according to all evidences, belong to the earlier period, and indeed are placed in that period by Matthew—show him to be already on his wanderings; because, further, the missionary address to the Twelve, which belongs to the middle period, very distinctly pre-supposes his own personal experiences of travel and entertainment; and because, finally, we meet with at least several notices of definite journeyings which are represented by such names of localities as the Plain of Gennesaret, Magdala, Bethsaida, and Chorazin.[2] We receive the impression that Jesus, after a brief initial ministry in populous and flourishing Capernaum, explored the immediate neighbourhood, partly in order to prosecute his mission in a wider field, and partly to escape the precipitate thronging of the people who had been specially

[1] Luke iv. 43; Mark i. 38; comp. Volkmar, pp. 102, 108.

[2] Matt. viii. 19, 20 (Luke ix. 57), Matt. x. 11 sqq., xi. 21 sqq., xiv. 34.

aroused by the miracles of healing.[1] Notably all three Gospels agree in representing the concourse of people in Capernaum in consequence of the first miracles as being, at the very first, the occasion of Jesus' leaving the town late in the evening or early in the morning, or, according to Mark, at dawn; after which, as the Gospels here differently report, he went either over the lake to the Gadarenes, or retired to a desert region on the west shore, and then went farther on his missionary journeys.[2] Passing over this irreconcilable contradiction, we may venture to look upon the lovely paradisiacal Plain of Gennesaret as the field in which Jesus laboured. It is a fact that on his landing in this plain at a later period, he was most sympathetically received by the surrounding population; and also that his ardent adherent Mary, the healed demoniac, undoubtedly belonged to Magdala, the village still known as Medshel, consisting of wretched huts in a filthy condition, but magnificently situated on the southern border of the plain, about a league and a half from Capernaum, if the latter be Khan Minyeh.[3] Better attested than this journey to the south, is that to the north, in a direction away from the royal city Tiberias. Northwards from Capernaum, and beyond

[1] I still look for Capernaum (comp. Ptol. 5, 16, 4) in Khan Minyeh, because the grounds for that belief, given in Vol. II. pp. 365 sq., outweigh the doubts suggested to me formerly by K. Furrer. Recently, besides Ewald (3rd ed. p. 331), Ebrard (*Stud. und Krit.* 1867) and Furrer (*Bibellexikon*, and on the map of Galilee) have decided for Telhum. On the other hand, Caspari has justly rejected Telhum, but has at the same time placed the town too far to the south by the "Round Well" (pp. 20, 126). See above, Vol. II. p. 370. I would add, that Josephus' remarks on his sojourn at the village of Kepharnome (*Vita*, 72), support the claims of Khan Minyeh rather than those of Telhum. It is at least more conceivable that one who was slightly wounded should retire from the Jordan in the neighbourhood of Julias, two leagues and perhaps more rather than only one, since in the uncertainty of the final issue of the conflict, Telhum was too near to the enemy. Moreover, the old authorities favour the northerly position of Bethsaida with respect to Capernaum, whilst if Telhum be Capernaum, Bethsaida must be looked for to the south. Finally, no importance is to be attached to the fact that the Jews confound the tomb of R. Tanchuma which is sought for at Telhum with that of Nahum (Capernaum); comp. Sepp, II. pp. 177, 190. The confusion arises from the similarity of the names.

[2] Matt. viii. 18; Luke iv. 42; Mark i. 35.

[3] Matt. xiv. 34; Luke viii. 1 sqq. Magdala, see Vol. II. pp. 364 sq.

the transient, scarcely more than league-long, idyll of the Plain of Gennesaret, lay the neighbouring towns of Bethsaida and Chorazin, immortalized by Jesus' denunciation of punishment, yet to-day almost undiscoverable.[1] A narrow rocky path, at the height of about thirty feet above the water, winds round the hill which embraces and protects the hallowed plain on the north. Upon those ancient stones Jesus travelled towards Bethsaida, lying half a league distant on the shore of the lake, at the foot of low hills from which an abundance of water noisily rushed under the shade of tall thickets.[2] At present the place is called Ain (spring) Tabigha. A mill, traces of a conduit, and the traditions that linger among the inhabitants, still represent in the solitude the once busy fishing town to which Peter and Andrew are said to have belonged, and perhaps also Philip and Nathanael.[3] From Bethsaida, the road runs half a league further in a north-easterly direction to the present Telhum, in the neighbourhood of which Jesus, leaving the lake, turned towards the north-west into the quiet little valley of Wady Nashif; and at a distance of half a league from Telhum, a league from Bethsaida, and a league and a half from Capernaum, he reached the large peasant village of Chorazin, hidden among hills, and still recognizable in Bir (well) Kerazeh, and by a number of ruins.[4] These are the

[1] Matt. xi. 20 sqq.; Luke x. 13.

[2] Furrer, *Wand.* p. 322. Robinson seeks for the old Bethsaida in Ain Tabigha (see above, Vol. II. p. 367, 2nd note); and Furrer heard the same opinion from an old Jew on the spot. The ancients also favour a northerly position for Bethsaida and Chorazin with respect to Capernaum. Epiphanius' account—"not far from Capernaum"—is quite in harmony with this. As is well known, Seetzen and Ritter sought it rather in Khan Minyeh. Ewald (p. 332) is indefinite. Caspari (p. 110) speaks of the haven of Capernaum! Gratz (p. 236), even of Julias.

[3] John i. 45 sqq.

[4] Vol. II. p. 367, 2nd note, agrees with Robinson in rejecting the identity of this spot with Chorazin; on the contrary, compare my article, *Chorazin* (unfortunately rich in printer's errors), in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, I. pp. 519 sq. The great similarity of the name is striking (comp. the variations, Chorazein, the usual form, K(h)oro(a)zain(m), Chorazan, Chorazze; Talmud, Chorashin, Koro(a)zaim). Moreover, no one would have sought the place in this obscure corner without some reason. Jerome describes it as *in litore*. The evidences in support of it are numerous. Comp. Ewald, p. 332. Comp. the map of Van der Velde. The distance from Capernaum is a little greater than that given by Jerome (two Roman miles). Instead of Sepp's deriva-

only tangible points in the first missionary tour of Jesus. We may, however, surmise that in this once richly populated district, a number of now unnamed places, of which only scanty vestiges remain, greeted his arrival; and it may safely be presumed that as he turned from the lake into the mountain valley on his way towards Chorazin, the rest of the background of the north-western shore between Magdala and Telhum, the towns and villages of Wady Humam, the Valley of Doves near Magdala, and of Wady el Amud or Rubudjyeh near Capernaum, received visits from him. If we are willing to extend the early ministry of Jesus beyond the limits concerning which we have the most certain evidence—the shore between Magdala and Chorazin, a tract of about three leagues—that which most readily commends itself to our notice as the modest theatre of that ministry is the district including the eastern border of middle Galilee, the coast and its immediate background exclusive of the hilly district of upper Galilee, of the plains of middle Galilee, and of the Samaritan boundary of southern Galilee. For it is capable of proof that he first visited the plains and the hills at a later period; and even when he recognized the necessity of considerably extending the limits of his mission, he still forbade his disciples to visit the Phenician north-west and the Samaritan south. At any rate, he confined his early ministry within far narrower limits than is generally supposed; and it is of religious-dogmatic interest to know that he did not anxiously and slavishly make his preaching conform to the details of the dogmatics of a universal call. Above all, it is certain that he always returned from his wanderings to the lake, to the three towns, chiefly to Capernaum, the scene of most of the recorded incidents; and that he made the ancient rendezvous of Galilee the head-quarters of the kingdom of God.[1]

tion of the word, that from *chorashin* (woods, Bux. p. 837) is much more probable, or from *chariszin* (water-trenches). The Chorazin of Naphtali celebrated for wheat and willows (Bux. p. 1089; Caspari, p. 76; Grätz, p. 360). Comp. the ruins of Kerazeh, north of Jerusalem (Van der Velde).

[1] The rendezvous, see Vol. II. p. 375.

It is especially noteworthy that Jesus—differing widely in this respect from his greatest disciple Paul, who won over the capital cities—sought rather the smaller towns and villages, and avoided the larger. During the whole of his ministry, we have no trace of his having visited the great cities, Tiberias, Tarichæa, Gabara, and Sapphoris. The most interesting question is that of his relation to Tiberias, the residence of Herod Antipas, scarcely three leagues south of Capernaum, and a league and a half from Magdala.[1] We might suppose he had visited it, not exactly because a later tradition represents him as having preached on the Horns of Hattin, which rose behind the city; but because of the proximity and of the importance of the city, of the largeness and breadth of his principles, of his knowledge of royal palaces and courtiers, of his acquaintance with the court, and of the adherence of the wife of a man in power, one of Herod's governors, to the new Galilean teacher.[2] The fourth Gospel—without any reliability, it is true—seems to point yet more definitely to connections between Jesus and the inhabitants of Tiberias.[3] In all this, however, we find no certain proof; and the fact that the court first became acquainted with Jesus at a late period speaks rather to the contrary. To the silence of the Gospels respecting the chief cities, to the evident preference of Jesus for the country, his aversion to crowds, his mistrust of the rich, and his cautious attitude towards the men in power, must be added the facts that Jesus, in his discourses about John, tolerably early revealed his very intelligible antipathy to courts, his wish to avoid them, his refusal to allow them to participate in the kingdom of heaven; and that, again, in sending his disciples forth on their mission, he forbade them not only to go into the Samaritan towns, but also in the ways of the Gentiles.[4] He avoided Tiberias as the residence of Herod and as a Gentile city;

[1] See Vol. I. p. 270.

[2] Matt. xi. 8, xiv. 1 sqq.; Luke viii. 3. Hattin, see under Sermon on the Mount.

[3] John vi. 23.

[4] Antipathy to courts, and to Antipas, Matt. xi. 8, xx. 25, xvi. 26; Luke xiii. 32, xxiii. 9; the way of the Gentiles, Matt. x. 5.

and later also, when visiting Nazara, both motives forbade his entering its celebrated neighbour, Sepphoris, the second city of Galilee, the favourite of Phenicians and Romans.[1]

We know somewhat more concerning the localities—in the narrower sense—of the missionary work of Jesus, than concerning the towns and villages in which he laboured. Jesus preferred to deliver his addresses in the synagogues. Upon this point the Gospels are quite harmonious, including even the fourth; and besides the synagogue at Capernaum, which is often mentioned, there appears later that of Nazara also.[2] An invention of this synagogue-ministry of Jesus for the purpose of defending his legally Judaistical point of departure against a suspicion of revolution and of Johannine subversion, is altogether incredible, even though isolated appearances in the synagogue—such as the opening sermon in Luke—may awaken doubt. These appearances in the synagogues are too often and too undesignedly reported; and they accord altogether with the strongly-marked character of the ministry of Jesus. The fact that Jesus frequented the synagogues shows at once that the activity of Jesus was discreetly accommodated as much to the social as to the religious ordinances and habits of the nation.[3] Here he found the inhabitants of each neighbourhood voluntarily assembled, since religion and frequently also civil affairs had here their speaking-place; he did not, like John, force the people in this respect into a violent, striking, and sensational departure from their regular course of life. Here, again, he connected his teaching with the legitimate worship and edification of the Israelitish community; and proved in a simple and striking manner that the religion which he preached, instead of breaking with the powers of the Old Testament, the Law and the Prophets which he read and which he more broadly expounded, was willing to

[1] Comp. above, Vol. I. p. 271, II. p. 4.

[2] Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, xii. 9, xiii. 54; Luke iv. 15, 16 (his wont), 31 (this appearance in public = Mark i. 21, may have been the first in the synagogue at Capernaum); John vi. 59, xviii. 20 (always in the synagogue and the temple).

[3] Comp. above, Vol. II. pp. 154 sq.

recognize them, to uphold, develop, and perfect them. It is impossible to overlook the remarkable serviceableness of this two-hundred-years old institution of the synagogue to his undertaking; less a place for worship than for the teaching of the Law and the Prophets, the synagogue entitled him to unfold the views which he had derived from the Old Testament itself, and it made it the people's duty to listen to and examine a doctrine which had been developed out of recognized and hallowed ground. That he readily obtained opportunities of speaking, is shown by the Gospels as well as by all the other accounts of the synagogue-service, a service not by any means bound up with the priests and the learned Scribes. Strangers were readily allowed to speak for the sake of freshness and variety, and on account of the easily understood deficiency of speaking talent in the respective towns; and Jesus soon became not only well known to the synagogue authorities, but also a coveted and sought-for speaker.[1]

The synagogues could not, however, exhaust the activity of Jesus, although at first—as in the case of Paul afterwards—he seems to have limited his public ministry to this extremely unobtrusive form.[2] As a rule, the meetings took place only on the seventh day; the week-day meetings were attended by a very small fraction of the population, and are never mentioned in the sources. The preacher of the approaching kingdom could not, in the long run, wait for the seventh day, though that day would naturally always be the festival and crown of his ministry and works of healing. In the towns, the space at the synagogues soon became too limited; and in small towns and villages there were no synagogues. Moreover, in the East, business and pursuits of all kinds are readily transferred from closed rooms to the open air; and Jesus personally was a friend of direct and unrestrained intercourse, and a friend of nature. Thus we see

[1] Comp. above, Vol. II. pp. 154 sqq. Acquaintance with Jesus, Matt. ix. 18; Luke viii. 41.

[2] Comp. Matt. iv. 23; Luke iv. 15 sq.

him preaching or healing within the house and without the house, in the lanes, in the market-places, at the cross-ways.[1] But there was yet another kind of locality, from which he could not absent himself. The man who had grown up in the midst of God's creation, who found in that creation the hundred-fold confirmation of his inner thoughts and feelings, who in proportion as he lovingly descended to the facts that could be seized by the intellect of the simplest of the people, filled his preaching with an inexhaustible multitude of the symbols of God's thoughts incarnated in the great economy of the universe,—such a man must speak under God's open sky, on the smiling shore of the lake, or even on the gently swelling wave, among the lush verdure of the field or of the wilderness, best of all there above in the free air and meditative stillness of the Galilean hills, where he could bring himself and his hearers nearer to the God of heaven and earth, and could point with his finger to the truth that sat throned in heaven and yet grew in the grass.[2] These free-nature sermons, during which he was wont to sit quietly, confidingly, a sure and kindly guide of the greatest of spiritual movements, while the people ranged themselves in a circle around him as in the synagogue, are placed by the Gospels for the most part at the late period, when the concourse of hearers had become great and opposition had developed itself; but, even if it were possible to be in doubt as to the earliest period, the Gospels themselves have placed the pearl of the preaching of Jesus, the Sermon on the Mount, in the Galilean spring-time.[3] That sermon belongs at least to the close of the

[1] In the house, Matt. viii. 14, 16, ix. 10; Luke v. 17. In Mark ii. 1, contrary to all possibility, Jesus' preaching to the masses of the people is erroneously transferred to the house. Comp. Mark iii. 19. Lanes, Luke xiii. 26, comp. x. 10 and Matt. vi. 2; market-places, Matt. xi. 18; Mark vi. 56; cross-ways, comp. Matt. xxii. 9.

[2] On the shore, from the ship, Matt. xiii. 1 sq.; Luke v. 1 sqq.; Mark ii. 13, iv. 1; on the grass, Matt. xiv. 15, 19, comp. vi. 30, Mark vi. 39; hills, Matt. v. 1, xv. 29 sq.

[3] Sitting, Matt. v. 1, xiii. 1, comp. xv. 29, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 55; standing, Luke v. 1, comp. ver. 3. See also Vol. II. pp. 133, 236. Listeners sitting in a circle, Mark iii. 34 (comp. Matt. xii. 49). Comp. synagogue, Vol. II. p. 158. Learners in Jeru-

spring-time, and gives a picture of the popular preaching of Jesus, even though it is a sermon to the disciples; and it locates itself upon the hill whence one sees the earthly and heavenly kingdom of the beatitudes, and points to the city on the hill which cannot be hid, and to the majestic sunlike glory and sunlike career of Jesus' vocation to be the light of the world, and in sight of the flowers of the field and the birds of heaven dismisses the demons of anxious care.

Besides the larger places of assembling, there were always for Jesus smaller, more limited localities, the narrowest mission-spheres, the mission in the house. We have already rejected the opinion that Jesus began with the house-mission, and afterwards gradually extended his ministry into a mission to the nation.[1] On the contrary, the actual fact was that with him the two were contemporary and connected. From the crowds which he was accustomed himself to disperse or indeed suddenly to forsake, he retired into the houses; from the houses he again went forth into the great public mission, or was compelled, as already in Capernaum, to transform the house-mission into a public mission.[2] When he was on his missionary journeys, the house was often not merely his place of abode for the night, but also the head-quarters of the kingdom of heaven. This is seen, with especial clearness, in his missionary address to the disciples.[3] It may be that he imposed the house-mission more distinctively and almost exclusively upon his weaker, timid followers than upon himself, because they could labour more confidently and upon surer ground in a small sphere than in a large one. But it is evident that in this respect he had learnt from experience; that he had, on his journeys in unknown places, often found in

salem, Luke ii. 46; Acts xxii. 3. Lightfoot, p. 326. Also above, Vol. I. pp. 336 sq. The people stand on the shore, Matt. xiii. 2.

[1] See above, pp. 12 sqq.

[2] Dispersion of the crowds, Matt. xiii. 36, xiv. 22, xv. 39, comp. viii. 18; in the houses, viii. 7, 14, xiii. 36; Mark i. 29, vii. 17; transition from house-mission to public mission, Matt. viii. 14 sqq., ix. 10 sqq., comp. Mark ii. 1 sqq., iii. 19.

[3] Matt. x. 11 sqq.

the house of his host fresh light as to his course of action, a centre from which he could work and convert a small mission into a larger one; that, indeed, he often made the opening of a new mission or the giving up of one already commenced dependent upon the demeanour and character of the households into which he went invited or uninvited.[1] In fact, Jesus had every reason for engaging in this domestic mission as well as in his great public mission, which latter, however, his imitation of the prophets and the Baptist, or more correctly his recognition of the national character of his religious task and its pressing urgency, prevented him from ever neglecting. His circumspection, his retirement into privacy, his partiality for the individual form of humanity, and his leaning towards the quiet maintenance of existing ordinances, perhaps chiefly the fundamental requirements of his personality and his doctrine—which his great public addresses also sought to satisfy—all tended, not towards the production of a great sensation, but towards the cultivation of heart and mind, the calling forth of personal characteristics, the creation of men with personal experience of salvation, of converts, of persons blessed through the double influence of his teaching word and of his impressive personality.[2] Hence he reclines at noon or evening at the table of the man whom the chances of travel make his host; in Capernaum, he pays and receives visits, nay, he even entertains guests, or himself accepts invitations to the midday meal or to the supper in the hospitable Galilean houses.[3] On such occasions he speaks differently than when addressing the people. He is sparing of the pearls of his preaching, which he will not profane by uttering them at inappropriate places or before unappreciative audiences.[4] His personal influence is present, but he does not refer to spiritual matters either at great length or with solemn emphasis. The

[1] Invites himself, Luke xix. 5 sqq.

[2] Comp. Matt. xi. 28, xii. 48 sqq.

[3] Host, Luke vii. 36, xi. 37, xiv. 1, xix. 5 sqq.; Matt. xxvi. 6; visits, Matt. viii. 7, 14; receives visits, ix. 1, 10, 14, 18; breakfast, Luke xi. 37; meal, vii. 36, comp. Matt. xxvi. 6; eating on the Sabbath, Luke xiv. 1.

[4] Matt. vii. 6.

same is true of the occasions when he eats with publicans, when he visits Peter's house, and even at the marriage at Cana, that representative picture, as spirited as it is miraculous, of the domestic ministry of Jesus. But it is exactly at such times and places that he finds occasion, briefly and incidentally yet impressively, to introduce one or another of his piquant, nervous, tender aphorisms. Bread, salt, wine, clothing, and washing, become the vehicles of higher truth; and it may well be that on such occasions he utters the sayings concerning the bread and the fish which the father does not withhold from the asking child, the wine in the skins and the fresh must which has too rough a taste for the guests. We have actually extant a number of examples of such house-and-table-talk, though Luke's copious collection of table-talk leaves much to be desired with reference to occasion and genuineness.[1] Sometimes Jesus is questioned by the disciples of John about fasting, and by the Pharisees concerning the publicans; sometimes he accepts proffered homage or suppresses a false enthusiasm.[2] He prescribes for the Pharisees that strive to get the best seats, Christian rules for the table; to the invited, rules to be observed at the host's entertainment; to his morose entertainer, Simon the Pharisee, he commends the reproving example of the loving sinner, the grateful debtor.[3] To the much-cumbered Martha he points out the few things, nay, the one thing, needful; and he blesses his penitent, self-denying host Zacchæus with the saying about the salvation of the lost.[4]

[1] Comp. especially the meal at the publican's, Matt. ix. 10; the meal at Bethany, xxvi. 6 (comp. Luke vii. 36). Also in Luke, particularly x. 38 (Mary and Martha), xi. 37 (controversy about washing), xiv. 1 (controversy about the Sabbath), xiv. 7 (higher and lower places at table, comp. Jos. *Ant.* 12, 4, 9), xiv. 12 (invitation of the poor), xiv. 15 (the great feast of God), xix. 6 (Zacchæus). Each will be more fully treated as occasion requires. Many passages are later, particularly in the table-talk in Luke xiv., *e. g.* xiv. 7 (comp. Matt. xxiii. 6), xiv. 12; xiv. 15 shows traces of Ebionite influence. The controversial sayings in xi. 37 are very clumsily introduced; but vii. 36, xiv. 1, 15, also are not above suspicion.

[2] Questions, Matt. ix. 11, 14; homage, Luke vii. 36 sqq.; Matt. xxvi. 6 sqq.; suppression of enthusiasm, Luke xiv. 15, comp. xi. 27.

[3] Luke xiv. 7 sqq., vii. 36 sqq.

[4] Luke x. 38 sqq. Mareta, *marat beta* = lady, Buxtorff, p. 1247. Well-attested reading, ὀλίγων ἢ ἑνός. Zacchæus, Luke xix. 5 sqq.

Division II.—THE WORKS OF JESUS.

Words and works make up the whole of the ministry of Jesus. He himself now and then thus summarizes his activity; and the Evangelists, with Matthew at their head, have still more explicitly recognized this great duality, and have grouped the whole life of Jesus more or less in accordance with it.[1] By means of this parallelism they have not only given life and freshness to their representation—for even the fourth Evangelist has found in the works and miracles of Jesus a relieving counterpoise to the monotony of his long addresses,—but they have written under the conviction—the three earlier Gospels more so than the fourth—that the narrative of the works of Jesus would furnish the conclusive and supreme evidence of his divinity, or at least of his Messiahship. They have, therefore, related a number of such narratives; and at different periods of his life, particularly at the beginning and the end of his Galilean ministry, they have constructed a long chain of miracles. Each successive author has gone further in the same direction: Mark has subordinated the words to the works, and John has condensed what was greatest into a select few of examples. They have not suppressed the utterances in which Jesus qualifies or denies the value of miracles and of belief in miracles; but they have given much more emphasis to the words in which he proves his greatness from his miracles, and they have added to his own sayings passages from the prophets to show that those very works are fulfilments of the Old Testament.[2] And what was still wanting to this exaltation and glorification of the works

[1] The categories, preaching and healing, Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35; Luke ix. 2, 6; Mark i. 39. In his missionary address, Jesus himself uses these categories, Matt. x. 7 sq.; Luke x. 9 (comp. Luke ix. 2, 6; Mark vi. 7, 12). See also Matt. xi. 5, 20 sqq.

[2] Comp. Matt. viii. 17, xii. 17 sqq.; in both instances, it is true, the work of the second hand.

of Jesus, is supplied in the narration by the astonished and admiring people whose enthusiasm for the works of Jesus is always described as being much greater than that for his preaching.[1]

Without doubt, the works of Jesus were actually much more extensive than his so-called miracles. His cleansing of the temple, his controversy with his opponents, were in point of fact works; nay, his most pacific preaching was not only a word, it was a work. It aimed at newly-forming, really at transforming, men and their circumstances; and it attained its end. It set men in motion; and it not only tore away from the Scribes their customary adherents by gathering hundreds or thousands around itself, but it also shook the invisible world of spirits in some instances out of their security and in others out of their despair, and disseminated an unrest and a rest hitherto unknown. Unfortunately, the ancient historiography of the life of Jesus has mentioned these latter facts only too sparingly, and has described their occurrence with too few details, although the creative awakening of these mental processes, of this great interchange of mental goods, was certainly the crown of the religious activity of Jesus, and would ultimately prove the best and most satisfactory explanation of his other works. Here and there, indeed, mention is made of the powerful impression produced by the words of Jesus, who spoke as a fully authorized ambassador of God and not as the Scribes—nay, who, according to the fourth Gospel, spoke as no man had ever spoken; and the impression produced by Jesus is seen still more forcibly than by means of verbal description, in the fact that men became his disciples, yielding to the irresistible attraction of his call, in the tears of the woman that was a sinner, in the avowal of the lame man, in the joy of Zacchæus and the publicans, in the devotion of the listening Mary, in the blessedness of the brethren and sisters who, lying at the feet of him who was meek and lowly, found

[1] Matt. ix. 8, 31, 33, xii. 23, &c.; Mark i. 27, 45, ii. 12, &c.

rest for their souls.[1] But—with the exception of the Apostle Paul, who was silent concerning the miracles of Jesus and repulsed with displeasure the Jewish demand for signs, in which respect the fourth Gospel has partially followed him—men formerly attached much greater importance to the external works, the bodily healings and the physically great or even miraculous effects; and it is altogether in keeping that Luke and Mark from the very first completely overlook the influence of the doctrinal teaching of Jesus, and refer that divine attestation which the multitude recognized in his words to his powerful and miracle-working utterances; and that Matthew directly and repeatedly, though unconsciously, contradicts, by introducing narratives of miraculous signs, Jesus' refusal to give signs.[2] This preference for the sensuous has continued until modern days, in spite of the Pauline condemnation of it, and has at the same time brought the grossest confusion into history. With carnal security and insatiability, men have accepted as their prey all these narratives, just as they stand, as accredited facts, and have deduced from them inferences of an endless perspective, which are necessarily contradicted not merely by sober criticism and the human conception of the life of Jesus, but also by Jesus himself, by his clear historical word.[3]

[1] Rest to souls, Matt. xi. 28; forgiveness, ix. 2; power of the word, xii. 49, xxi. 32; Luke vii. 38, x. 39; John vi. 68, vii. 46.

[2] 1 Cor. i. 22, comp. John iv. 48, xx. 29, but also ii. 11, 18, 23, iii. 2, iv. 45, v. 36, x. 25, 38, xii. 37, xv. 24. The greater emphasis laid upon miracles than upon teaching, Luke iv. 36 (32); Mark i. 27 (22); comp. Matt. vii. 28 sq. Matt. xii. 38 sqq. has a double contradiction, for (1) the sign of the resurrection is artificially brought in, ver. 40, and (2) those who demand signs are threatened, ver. 43, with the withdrawal of the miraculous effects already produced (for this is the artificial connection).

[3] The utterly uncritical hunger for miracles, in Pressensé, *Jésus-Christ*, 1865; Steinmeyer, *Wunderthaten des Herrn*, 1866. Comp. Ewald, 3rd ed. p. 290: a king must speak less than act; necessary as teaching may be, yet, strictly speaking, it is by no means a truly royal occupation.

A.—Critical Difficulties.

In this province of the history of Jesus—one that is exceptionally obscure and perhaps never to be completely illumined—it first of all behoves us clearly to perceive what are the great historical difficulties; and in the next place to ask to what extent and with what explanatory resources a cautious historiography is in a position to engage in the work of construction. It is impossible here for the historian to hide from himself and others a number of discouraging facts.

In the first place, the Gospels differ widely among themselves as to the number, character, and consequences of the so-called works. It is true that out of about twenty incidents narrated in detail by the earlier Gospels, our sources have a dozen or more in common, in some cases three of the sources, in others only two, agreeing together; and even the fourth Gospel coincides more or less with its predecessors in four or five out of its six or seven miracles.[1] But each Gospel has also its own fresh passages, peculiar to itself. Matthew has the small, Luke the large, draught of fishes; Luke, the raising of the dead at Nain, the healing of the deformed woman, of the man with the dropsy, of the ten lepers, of the servant whose ear was cut off; Mark, the healing of the dumb mute and of the blind man; John, in the beginning the marriage at Cana, and at the close the raising of Lazarus. We see here plainly the increase of the miraculous in the later Gospels, chiefly in Luke and John; and the supposition of a justified gleaning of what had been omitted, is met by the strong suspicion that the increasing marvellousness of the

[1] In Matthew I reckon twenty miracles, in Luke nineteen, in Mark eighteen. Those common to all three are: (1) Peter's mother-in-law; (2) leper; (3) paralytic; (4) Jairus' daughter; (5) woman with issue of blood; (6) man with withered hand; (7) Gadarene; (8) lunatic; (9) blind men at Jericho; (10) storm; (11) miracle of feeding. Those common to two Gospels are: centurion's servant; dumb devil; demoniac at Capernaum; second miracle of feeding; second storm. John alone has the miracle at Cana and the raising of Lazarus; and, in common with other Gospels, he has the healing of the ruler's son, the infirm man, the miracle of feeding, the storm, the blind.

miracles in the later Gospels—the great draught of fishes, the changing of the water into wine, the recalling to life of the young man at Nain and of Lazarus—reveals less a modest gleaning of what had been left untold than a heightened mythical tradition. This impression is still more strongly produced by the narratives of those miracles that are given by the several Gospels in common, when we examine their substance more closely. In the first place, the detailed features are very diverse: here one blind man, there two; here one possessed, there two; here a fever patient, there a paralytic; here one who is sick, there one who is dying; here a girl who is dead, there a girl who is on the point of death; here a word from Jesus, there a touch. In the above instances the fourth Gospel has not been taken into account: that Gospel transforms a Capernaum miracle into a Cana miracle, a Galilean one into one at Jerusalem, a blind man into a man born blind, a miracle of healing in the house to one at the pool, one in the near distance to one in the far distance, two healings on week-days to healings on Sabbath-days. At the same time, as a rule, the miracles increase in marvellousness as they descend from the earlier to the later writers. In Matthew, the paralytic is brought to the Lord upon a bier; in Luke, he is let down from the roof; in Mark, he is let down through the uncovered roof,—therefore he is brought to Jesus in spite of the greatest obstacles, which faith overcomes. The illness of the woman with the issue of blood becomes more and more serious as the case passes from Matthew to Luke, and on to Mark; and the condition of the demoniacal Gadarenes or Gadarene grows more and more dreadful. To the same source is due also the progression from persons who are diseased to persons who have been long diseased, or who were born diseased, from the simply diseased to persons who are dying or dead. In Jesus' miracles of healing, the sudden healing passes into the gradual, the healing by a command into that with means and appliances; the later authors, indeed, placing before us what is apparently the easier form of healing, but what is in fact, with its varied

manipulations, the more mysterious. The last form of dissimilarity is in the different order of sequence. Here also points of contact do not altogether fail: they are most frequent between Luke and Mark, less so between Matthew and Mark; but all three often go hand in hand, as in the first miracles and in the last, as well as in the placing together of particular narratives—those of the storm on the lake and the demoniacs, of the woman with the issue of blood and the dead or dying young daughter of the ruler; and John, notwithstanding the great liberties he takes, has respected the order of his predecessors, from his second to his sixth miracle. On the whole, however, there prevails a great diversity of arrangement: here an artificial octade or decade, here a quaternion of miracles; a chapter of greater miracles, here at the beginning, there at the end; a different initial miracle, or indeed a different termination of the miracles, here in Matthew, there in Luke and Mark, and again in John. All this will be made clear and palpable in the history of the separate incidents.

It would be an illusion to suppose that recourse to the oldest, or to the best corroborated, account would relieve us of all difficulties. This procedure has its undoubted advantages, and will be here observed as far as practicable. But it is by no means conclusive, for in this province especially it must be superficial and unpromising. We possess, indeed, *an* oldest, but certainly not *the* oldest, the original Gospel; and in the oldest we possess there is already a world of myths. And there are instances of unanimity between the three, or even between the four Gospels, which may compel criticism to deliberate more carefully before it yields to doubt, than is necessary with reference to accounts that are imperfectly attested: nevertheless, we know well enough that the three, or the four, Gospels have often drunk at one and the same source, whether that source be what is now called Matthew or the primitive Matthew, Mark or the primitive Mark, and that therefore they do not always establish the truth out of the mouths of two or three witnesses. We would here simply mention that our Gospels frequently speak in a general way of

an indefinite number of miracles, and yet almost always confine themselves to the repetition of the well-known miracles mentioned by their predecessors: a proof that the sources did not flow copiously to them, and that the accounts of eye and ear-witnesses were a source which had long been dry. The process of filtration to which the received tradition must be subjected, will therefore have to be carried on the more minutely, effectually, and accurately, and with all the most delicate apparatus at our command.

It is at once easy to discover that a large number of the works ascribed to Jesus must be withdrawn as unauthenticated or as superfluous. All those works are unauthenticated which are from time to time mentioned in the Gospels in a merely general way, as illustrative of the ministry of Jesus. The statement that introduces the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew, "He healed every sickness and every disease, ... and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, the possessed, the lunatic, the paralyzed, and he healed them," is repeated with more or less of variation again and again not only in Matthew, but also in Luke, Mark, and John.[1] The possessed, the blind, the lame, the dumb, and the deformed, are enumerated with special copiousness. That these enumerations have no claim to strict historical accuracy—though that there were other cases of healing than merely those reported in detail cannot be doubted—is to be inferred from the many introductory accounts of Matthew and of his co-Evangelists which do not by any means constitute an historical situation, as much as from Matthew's final account of the cases of healing of blind and lame in the temple at Jerusalem, which account is improbable in itself and is altogether unrepresented in the other Gospels.[2]

[1] Matt. iv. 23 sqq., viii. 16, ix. 35, xii. 15, xiv. 14, 36, xv. 30, xix. 2, xxi. 14; Luke iv. 40, v. 15, 17, vi. 17 sqq., vii. 21, ix. 11; Mark i. 32 sqq., 39, iii. 10 sqq., 20, vi. 55; John ii. 23, iv. 45, 48, vi. 2, vii. 31, xii. 37.

[2] Comp. Matt. iv. 23 and the parallel passages; xiv. 14, xv. 30—in connection with the miracles of feeding—and the parallel passages; also Luke vii. 21, the miracles of healing on the occasion of the arrival of the messengers from the Baptist, comp. Matt. xi. 1; miracles of healing in the temple, xxi. 14.

It is, moreover, very instructive to reflect that if these general accounts of miracles of healing were literally historical, there would at last remain no more sick persons for Jesus to heal; and yet we find a great many making their appearance up to the end, and in the time of the Apostles.[1] Indeed, if these reports were not simply additions by the authors, their vague and general character would prevent us from forming a decisive opinion, would fail to supply an historical affirmation. Equally unauthenticated are the works which are simply the subordinate and incidentally mentioned accompaniments of an important and significant event in the life of Jesus. In the narrative of the centurion of Capernaum, in that of the Canaanitish woman, and in the controversy with the Pharisees concerning the kingdom of the devil, the actual healing of the servant, of the daughter, or of the man, is a matter more or less indifferent; the author briefly mentions the healing as a formal conclusion, but his account gives no distinct picture of the healing; his attention and ours is fixed on something quite different, namely, on the interview which precedes or follows.[2]

Among the superfluous narratives are, in the first place, the duplicates, the more or less accidental and involuntary doubling of one and the same incident in the mouth of loquacious, changeable tradition and in the written precipitate of that tradition. Matthew and Mark have a double feeding of the multitude; but the second with the 4,000 men resembles the first with the 5,000 to a hair, does not assume the existence of the first, and is happily avoided by Luke and John. Matthew has two blind men in the cycle of initial miracles; again, on the journey through Jericho, he has first there a dumb demoniac, and then later—in the controversies—he has another who is also blind: in both cases, it is doubtless the same incident, at least the homage of the friends and the objections

[1] Matt. xiv. 14, 35, xv. 30, xix. 2; Acts iii. 1, v. 15, 16.

[2] Matt. viii. 6, 13, xv. 22, 28. The miracle of healing in xii. 22 is first certified, although the address is the principal thing.

of the opponents are exactly the same, and the two accounts are unquestionably drawn from different sources, the author or the interpolator having inserted as separate incidents what he found in one source earlier and in another later, in one shorter and another more lengthy.[1] Thus, in the two storms in Matthew and Mark, it is possible to discover an original identity, notwithstanding the peculiar features which distinguish them; at any rate, it is remarkable that Luke has only the one and John only the other. It is in the same way possible that one fact or one conception forms the foundation of the narrative of the small draught of fishes by Peter in Matthew, and of the large one in Luke. Who, then, shall decide whether the different, ever increasingly copious, narratives of blind men and of men born blind, of lame men, of lepers, of demoniacs of every kind, are to be referred respectively to different facts or to only one?

The history of the miraculous draught of fishes exhibits another mode of origination of the superfluous narratives. In the miracle-seeking manner of the Jews, many works are artificially elaborated out of words, and chiefly out of the figurative sayings of Jesus, out of his parables: a mode of origination to which Weisse drew particular attention.[2] The possibility of such a mode of origination must be admitted beforehand, when we perceive that in other departments the words of Jesus have been notoriously and violently made to refer to facts: thus, when he declines to give any sign other than the sign of Jonah—i.e. of Jonah's preaching—one Evangelist quite erroneously understands him to refer to the exhibition of divine power in the resurrec-

[1] Hilgenfeld is inclined to regard the dumb demoniac in Matt. xii. as an addition; but it might rather be asked whether the last two pictures of the cycle, viii., ix., are not to be regarded as additions by the interpolator. For the crisis was reached in ix. 18—25, and ver. 26 forms a concluding sentence. The meagreness of the narration that follows, and its imitation of the preceding narrative (ix. 27, 31, comp. ver. 26), are at once noticeable; the cry, "Thou Son of David" (ix. 27), is in the first place impossible, and the non-recognition by the original author of the identity of this incident with a later one (xx. 30) is inconceivable. On the other hand, xii. 22 is an organic member of the original context of the controversies.

[2] *Ev. Gesch.* I. pp. 372, &c. Comp. R. Seydel, in Schenkel's *Zeitschr.* 1870, p. 74.

tion out of the belly of the fish, i. e. out of the grave.[1] But there are striking instances in the department we are now treating of. Jesus promises Peter that he shall become a fisher of men. Luke, and in another later place the supplementer of John, have added to this promise an accompanying sign in Peter's great draught of fishes, about which the other Gospels are silent, though Matthew has made room for a small draught of fishes by Peter.[2] Jesus uttered a threat against the unfruitful Jewish fig-tree, and Luke gives this threat: in Matthew and Mark—not in Luke, it is true—there has grown out of it the great final miracle at Jerusalem of the cursed fig-tree.[3] Jesus called himself the physician of the sick, the saviour among the deaf, the blind, the leprous, the dead: how many narratives of miraculous healing of unhistorical blind and lame in the temple at Jerusalem may not have been developed out of these expressions?[4] To the Baptist's inquiries as to his Messiahship, Jesus answered in the words of Isaiah's prophecy: Blind men see, lame walk, lepers are cleansed, deaf hear, dead men are raised up, and to poor men the Gospel is preached. Did he, contrary to Isaiah's meaning, and contrary to the unequivocal final word about the spiritual Gospel of the poor, refer to the physically diseased, to the physically diseased *alone*, to those who were physically raised again, as the Gospels understand him to have done, and as Luke attempts to demonstrate by illustrations?[5] Let us further look at two of the longer parables. The Gospels give the parable of the seed of the word, the seed which he and his disciples after him scatter, and which brings forth fruit a hundred-fold: now, the feeding of the 5000 by Jesus and the Apostles is, in Matthew, very significantly placed in almost immediate connection with this parable, and in Luke and Mark with the sending forth of the Apostles; and John has shown, without disguise, in the Galilean miracle of

[1] Matt. xii. 39 sq., comp. Luke xi. 29 sq.
[2] Matt. iv. 19, xvii. 27; Luke v. 4 sqq.; John xxi. 6 sqq.
[3] Luke xiii. 6 sqq.; Matt. xxi. 18; Mark xi. 12.
[4] Matt. ix. 12, viii. 22, xv. 14, xi. 4, comp. xxi. 14.
[5] Matt. xi. 1; Luke vii. 2, 12, 21.

feeding, and also in the Samaritan harvest, the spiritual meaning which underlies the incidents.[1] The third Gospel gives the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, the glorification of Lazarus in his death, and the mistaken belief of the rich man in torment that his brothers under the Law would believe if Lazarus arose from the dead; in the fourth Gospel, there is developed from this parable the crowning miracle of Jesus, the resurrection of Lazarus, which was nevertheless without influence upon the unbelieving, worldly Jews.[2]

Such picture-stories grew out of the words of Jesus, or, in the absence of words, out of the general impression of his ministry, and served the purpose of depicting that impression. We cannot be angry at their existence; for though they are unhistorical and superfluous, they are, in the spirit of the East, representations full of significance. Modern divination, with all its sagacity, has, it is true, drawn a number of exaggerated and untenable inferences from these representations: for instance, it is difficult to sustain the proposition that healings of demoniacs or healings at a distance are simply artificial symbolisms, a kind of figurative description of the subjection and conversion of the near and distant heathenism.[3] Yet it is unquestionable that at least some incidents in all the Gospels have taken their rise from such points of view, a special instance being that of the humorous and, in a literal sense, impossible incident of the demoniacs and the swine in the Gentile Gadara; but this tendency was commenced chiefly by Luke and perfected by John. In Luke (followed by Mark), the very first work, the healing of the furious demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum, has a purely symbolic significance, as much so as the initial sermon at Nazara: it is Jesus' proof of strength, the evidence that his word has authority and force. Luke has, yet more distinctly than Matthew, painted

[1] Matt. xiii. 3 sqq., xiv. 19 sqq.; Luke ix. 1, 13; Mark vi. 7, 37; John vi. 11, 35, iv. 35 sqq.

[2] Luke xvi. 19 sqq.; John xi. 1 sqq.

[3] Thus especially Volkmar, *Rel. Jesu*, 1857, and *Evangelien*, 1870.

the Gadarene demoniac as the representative of heathenism. In the ten lepers, which he substitutes for the one leper of the other Gospels, he intends to exhibit, very significantly in the district of the kingdom of the ten tribes, the spiritual leprosy which was curable both in Jews and Samaritans, but was less severe and more easily curable in the Samaritans.[1] It has been already mentioned that the miraculous feeding of the multitude, the healing of the dying servant, and the restoration to life of the dead young man, are, in Luke's context, introduced essentially as illustrations of the words of Jesus.[2] Finally, in the fourth Gospel, all the miracles are from beginning to end only pictures of ideas, as was seen by Herder. The external miracle is only the rude foundation, only the introduction to the higher spiritual truth which, as a rule, follows in much greater detail and is much more impressively given.[3] The reader receives the impression that the Evangelist attached little importance to the material foundation, that he regarded it only as the indicator, or only as the "staves" for the sensuous and infirm people—as was later said of the pictures in Christian churches—by which they might acquire a presentiment of or might find the truth: to a certain extent, that material foundation is the potentiating (*Potenzirung*) of the parabolic speeches of Jesus, so that men might not merely hear words in words, but see them in pictures. The depreciatory manner in which Jesus ever and anon speaks of signs gives the same impression; as does yet more the author's Philonic view of the sayings and signs of the Old Testament, in which he discovers, not God himself, but God's accommodation of himself to flesh and blood.[4] Hence also the remarkable freedom of the Evangelist in this province,—his new and arbitrary handling of the old narratives, and his careless construction

[1] Luke iv. 33 (Mark i. 23), viii. 26 (Mark v. 1), xvii. 12.

[2] Luke vii. 22, and 2, 12. Miracle of the loaves, see above, pp. 161 sq.

[3] Comp. Strauss's new *L. J.* p. 12. Hence is explained the paucity of Johannine miracles; against Schleiermacher, p. 238.

[4] Comp. the passages on signs, above, p. 154; and on Philonism in Vol. I. pp. 284 sq. (John v. 37).

of the new. The marriage at Cana, the first miracle, is a picture of the master of joy, who through life and death overpasses Judaism; the miracles of the healing of the nobleman's son and of the infirm man are signs of the far-reaching, unresting ministry of the Father and the Son; the miracle of the loaves exhibits the Messiah feeding his faithful people with his word, with his body; the storm reveals the divine ruler who brings the ship of the Church into port, though it be after some delay; the man born blind affords an opportunity for the putting forth of Jesus' power to enlighten, and Lazarus of his unlimited ability to give life.

The unhistorical and superfluous miracles have been derived not only from the words and the great works of the life of Jesus —words and works which could be so easily translated into objective, material, symbolic narratives—but to a certain extent also from the Old Testament. The influence of this factor has sometimes been exaggerated, especially by Strauss in his first "Life of Jesus," in which he represents the history of Jesus as containing a series of mere copies of Mosaic or prophetic myths. Volkmar has recently, one-sidedly and uncritically, fallen back upon this theory. At present, Strauss admits that only that which has an affinity to Jesus has been imitated, and the old material has received the inspiration of a new and higher spirit. We would still more openly say that the starting-point of the miraculous narratives is as a rule not the spirit of the Old Testament, but the spirit of the New, the actual existence, sayings, and doings of Jesus, and that this more or less historical Jesus is secondarily here and there stamped with the impress of Jewish forms of perception and thought, i. e. with the impress of the mythical forms of thought of the Old Testament.[1] This Jesus is certainly a zealot, but yet much more is he a loving friend of man: hence, with the exception of the cursing of the fig-tree, which however did no man any harm, none of the penal judgments of Moses or Elijah or Elisha have been transferred to

[1] Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, I. pp. 96 sqq., II. pp. 1 sqq.; *Leben Jesu für das Deutsche Volk*, pp. 150 sqq., 262 sqq.

him, though their benevolent actions have been; whilst the most that can be said on the other side is, that an inclination to imitate Elijah in calling down fire from heaven has been ascribed to his disciples.[1] As a matter of fact, this Jesus heals the sick, such even as the Old Testament either did not know or did not prominently mention,—the possessed, the paralytic, those suffering from hæmorrhage, and the dropsical; and on this account, perhaps, the healings effected by the ancient men of God in the cases of the leprous and the blind, or even their restoration of the dead to life, are also ascribed to him. This Jesus speaks of the fruitful seed of the word of God, and is always translating the letter of his preaching into deeds of human love, into a fresh system of higher ordinances; and on this account, perhaps, the miracles of feeding of Moses and Elijah are introduced into his life.[2] Admitting the primarily Christian and to some extent historical origination of the miraculous narratives, there naturally still remains ample space for the influence of the Old Testament. The having regard to, the imitation of, the Old Testament, naturally and quite spontaneously occurred in the narrating and re-narrating of the life of Jesus; and this was the case not merely because the narrators and their after-narrators—at least those among them who were Jewish Christians—lived in those old histories, but also because of the nature of their dogmatics. The Old Testament itself described the Messianic period sometimes as an epoch of universal salvation and prosperity, and sometimes as an epoch of fulfilment.[3] To the fulfilment belonged the accomplishment of all and every prediction of salvation in a spiritual and yet more in a temporal sense, and the appearance of a man who should be equal or superior to Moses and the prophets. The contemporaries of Jesus, the Jews of Paul and John, and also the fourth book of Esdras, and even the Rabbis, looked

[1] Comp. Luke ix. 54.

[2] More in detail when treating of the miracle of the loaves, of the narratives of raising the dead, &c. Luke iv. 25 sqq. Even Ewald (p. 299) admits that the narratives of the New Testament have their roots in the myths of the Old.

[3] Comp. only Joel ii. 30; Is. xxix. 18 sqq., xxxv. 5 sqq. (Matt. xi. 5), xlii. 7.

for this doer of wonders: as was the first deliverer, so would be the last; and what God, the holy, the blessed, would do in the time to come, that had He already done in the past by the hands of righteous men. The manna, the drying up of the sea, the healing of the blind, the restoration of the dead to life, must happen again.[1] Especially fine is the description of the Messiah in the Talmud, where he is represented as binding up the wounds of the sick and wretched, and as awaiting, in the midst of such a Good-Samaritan-like activity, the conversion of the nation.[2] Moreover, Jesus himself is anxious to fulfil Moses and Elijah; and he bases his whole history upon the Old Testament.[3] It is therefore quite intelligible that the Evangelists should have gone further in the same direction, and that the oral tradition should have outstripped even them. They have not refused the demand of the Jews to see signs, as did the severe, principle-obeying, intellectual Paul, and—what is most to the point—as did Jesus with his refusal to give signs from heaven, and his preaching of the treasure hidden in the field; the Evangelists were themselves Jews, and required signs for themselves as well as for others, the signs of Moses and Elijah. The subject of fulfilment is most fully dwelt upon by Matthew, who is ever referring to the prophets, even when narrating miracles; but Luke also, the Pauline Christian, has written an inaugural address of Jesus' which is full of the idea that Jesus must reproduce Elijah and Elisha.[4] That actually unhistorical fulfilments are introduced,

[1] 1 Cor. i. 22; John vii. 31. 4 Esdras xiii. 49 sq.: Proteget populum et tunc ostendet eis (multa) plurima portenta. Comp. vii. 26 sq. *Sohar Ex.* f. 3: Tempore, quo revelabitur rex Messias, quot signa et miracula alia conspicienda se dabunt in mundo. Schöttgen, p. 13. Bertholdt, p. 168. *Midrash Kohelet*, f. 73, 3: as the first deliverer (Moses), so the last (Messiah). *Nidr. Tanch.* f. 54, 4: God will awaken the dead as he did through Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel. He will dry the sea, as He did through Moses. He will open the eyes of the blind, as He did through Elisha. Schöttgen, pp. 110, 251. Gfrörer, *Jahrh. des Heils*, II. pp. 318 sqq. Strauss, the first *Leben Jesu*, I. p. 96, II. p. 1; the new *L. Jesu*, p. 152. Sometimes, indeed, the Talmudists deny the miracles of the Messiah; Lightfoot, p. 25; Schöttgen, p. 213.

[2] Schöttgen, p. 88; Oehler, *Messias*, p. 438.

[3] Comp. Matt. v. 17, xi. 14, xvii. 12, xi. 5, xxvi. 54.

[4] Matt. viii. 17, xii. 17; Luke iv. 25. Comp. also Matt. iii. 17, xvii. 5.

we have already sufficiently seen from the preliminary history of Jesus. That they occur also in the province of the miraculous, we have already been convinced by the application made of the passage from Isaiah, when the Baptist sent messengers to Jesus; and the following history will in its details necessarily strengthen this conviction, since it will enable us clearly to perceive how the narratives of the restorations to life, of the miracle of feeding, of the storm on the lake, are constructed upon—sometimes to the very word—the narratives or sayings of the Old Testament. There naturally remains the question of the possibility of repetition or of the separation of matter and form; we do not expect to obtain a satisfactory solution of this question as a whole, but only in isolated instances, and the critical judgment at least is already deprived of the hope of seeing a secure edifice constructed.[1]

But after all these assaults upon the miraculous position, the most dangerous has yet to come. Assuming that all these incidents—i.e. all these cases of sickness, all these necessitous circumstances, all these results of Jesus' activity—are attested, the fact remains that the soul of the whole, the inner connection, the relation between cause and effect, power and performance, means employed and result achieved, is in the highest degree obscure. Assuming for a moment that the healing of the paralytics, the feeding of the 5000 men, actually occurred, *how* were they brought about? This is the nucleus of the whole question, and the Gospels have done little to give us a clear and sober representation of this nucleus. Either they have barely stated the result in the case or cases in question, as "they were all healed," "they saw," "they heard," "they walked," "the hand, the ear, was restored," without troubling themselves—a point on which Dr. Paulus notoriously relied—about the special cause of the cure; or, even in cases in which they have in passing men-

[1] Apologetic historiography can support itself by the argument that if Jesus actually healed, healed even lepers as did Elisha, or if he actually so entered Jerusalem on an ass, as Jewish expectation required, a whole system of similarities might actually have arisen without being unhistorical.

tioned this or that mediate cause—here the psychical compassion of Jesus, there certain physical manipulations, and there again the believing disposition of the sick and of those who surrounded them—they have, as a rule, in the spirit of Jewish thought and of Christian faith, looked beyond all mediate causes to the miraculous in a wider or a narrower sense, and to the miraculous person of Jesus, and have explained the results as due to his creative will or to his mysterious power. Here, at what is peculiarly the decisive point, all facts as such cease, for the arrangement of cause and effect is really the work of the observing, more or less carefully and keenly criticising, eye-witness or reporter, and not an actually occurring sequence, not something actually objective; here begin presentiments, subjective judgments, dogmatic assumptions; and here the subjective factor forces itself so violently into the sources, that the most diverse explanations cross each other, the natural explanation contradicting the supernatural, and in the case of the latter itself there are to be found again two altogether diverse modes of explanation; indeed, to make the reader despair of discovering any higher point at which these explanations might be found to unite, the Evangelists understand by miraculous operations simply something that had never before been known—as they themselves occasionally say, and as the thought and language of the Old Testament and especially of the people leads us to expect,—or rather, to speak with modern definiteness, something absolutely unaccomplishable by the orderly cosmically constituted operation of the forces of terrestrial nature and mind.[1]

Who will blame these authors for having thus concluded? They have made an altogether legitimate use of their reason, of the principles in which they were educated, even if they were present and observed, or thought they observed what they did not actually observe, but could merely have inferred by means of the involuntary co-operation of the functions of the human mind.

[1] Matt. ix. 33; Luke v. 36. Similarly, Jos. *Ant.* 10, 2, 1: *τὰ παράλογα κ. μείζω τῆς ἐλπίδος.* An unimportant attempt to explain away this objection, in Steinmeyer, p. 12.

According to all the evidences of the Gospels themselves, however, the authors were not in any case present, but they found in existence a mass of materials which in passing through the hands of the first narrators and their after-narrators had already been—we dare not say falsified and mutilated, but—prepared, arranged, and brought under points of view which the Evangelists were not in a position to investigate, but which they could only either reproduce or themselves yet more sharply define and ideally illustrate out of their own dogmatic convictions. But, confining our attention to the first narrators, how much confidence is to be placed in the observations, in the points of view, of those unknown first reporters and of the loquacious circulators of the reports, in the perceptions and judgments—not of experts and scientific investigators—but of a people who, whether we think of the Jews or the Galileans, were inclined to be superficial, were notoriously credulous, superstitious, and lovers of the marvellous, and among whom belief in the miraculous was daily becoming stronger?[1] It follows, indeed, from all that has been said, that the brief is very defective as to the cardinal point, that the conductors of the case are very imperfectly instructed, and that further instruction can no longer be acquired; that therefore, as matters stand, no one can be prevented from thinking how he pleases—rationalistically or otherwise—concerning the main point, the power by which the works were effected; and, consequently, that history must altogether refrain from pronouncing any decision as to the works of Jesus —must, in a word, omit even the representation of intangible facts.

At all events, as matters stand, to save—not all—but only something, may be regarded as cause for rejoicing; and there are living, outside of the culture of the age, men who place their most cogent proofs of the divinity of Jesus in this very depart-

[1] The credulity of the Galileans is continually coming before our notice in Josephus' autobiography; comp. only their faith in the sorcery or poison-compounding of the Trachoniteans, cap. 31 (πεισθέντες).

ment, and who find here the ground of their moral indignation against scientific opponents.

B.—The Fundamental Facts.

On the road that leads to pure negation, or perhaps to the resolve to erase altogether this fundamentally corrupt and mythical picture of Christ, this gross, materialized, Jewish worker of miracles, and to restore to its historical and unimpeachable dignity the lost, Pauline, genuinely spiritual picture of the Messiah, —on this precipitous road, it is necessary to command a halt. One may prune away, but not destroy; one may use foresight and even feel distrust, but not sacrifice facts.[1]

It is true, as Weisse in particular, notwithstanding his free views, has maintained against the Straussian storm, that the Gospels have never produced upon any sound mind the impression that they rest solely upon late myths and subsequent invention. They unquestionably contain many genuine historical facts, and perhaps yet more of the most genuine utterances of Jesus: is it conceivable that the great works, which accompany these, are purely fictitious? It may be held credible, and we ourselves think it is so, that in the memory of the community the doings have suffered more, have been more modified, than the sayings, because Oriental fancy and Jewish-Christian interests have been more actively influential with regard to the former; it is, nevertheless, not to be supposed that even in the case of the works a something—real mountains and bulwarks of the faith—has been created out of nothing. Why have we so many works of Jesus' and not a single one of the Baptist's? The independence of the

[1] Even Volkmar, the new Bruno Bauer, entertains no doubt that Jesus healed a few individuals, particularly demoniacs; but *in concreto* the reports are always uncertain, and *in generali* the creative Mark understands by demons merely the gods of heathendom, pp. 88, 119, 129, 143, &c. He repeatedly exclaims against "the confused naturalistic exegesis" of others; but there is also such a thing as a tendency to a confused and forced symbolizing and allegorizing. Nor has it yet come to pass that the community of the present day can perform all the miracles of Jesus (p. 120).

works of Jesus with respect to the Old Testament has been already specially dwelt upon; we may, in addition, refer to the great difference between the works of Jesus and those of the prophets, there being in the latter a preponderance of nature-miracles, in the former to an altogether disproportionate extent a preponderance of miracles of healing, in which, moreover, Jesus accomplished his purpose essentially by his mere word, without means, without water or salt or meal or figs, without a rod and without incubation.[1] Many of these works are directly and inseparably bound up with the original words of Jesus or with attested historical facts, as, e. g., the healing of the infirm man, and the healing of the possessed in the presence of the Pharisees; nay, they are indeed broadly but immediately borne witness to in Jesus' very words or in his surroundings, which themselves also represent a fact. The Pharisees admit the healings of the possessed, but explain them as brought about by a covenant with the devil; according to the report of the disciples, the people hold Jesus to be Elijah, the man of miracles, or some one of the great wonder-working prophets; and the tetrarch Antipas sees in him John the Baptist, raised from the dead by the higher powers.[2] Jesus himself refutes, by an argumentation too masterly to have been invented, the calumny of a covenant with the devil; he proves that his works, wrought by the power of the Spirit of God, reveal the advent of the kingdom of God; and he threatens his antagonistic contemporaries with the return of all the expelled devils. He points to the great signs of the times; he condemns the Galilean cities for their unbelief in the face of his mighty works; he ordains his Apostles as his successors in healing.[3] It is true, these attested utterances form the basis of an important distinction in the narrations of the Gospels: only Jesus' works of healing, and not his external interferences with nature in multiplying loaves, in changing water into wine, in stilling the storm, are

[1] 1 Kings xvii. 21; 2 Kings ii. 20, iv. 29, 34, 41, v. 10, xx. 7.

[2] Matt. ix. 34, xii. 23, 24, xvi. 14, xiv. 2. Comp. John vii. 31.

[3] Matt. xii. 25 sqq., 43, xvi. 1 sqq., xi. 21, x. 8.

accompanied by these utterances; and the great and brilliant nature-miracles, the so-called signs from heaven, he has altogether repudiated in equally well-attested words. But who will not be content if the one remains standing, though the other totters or even falls?[1] For the works of healing, and for them alone, we have also the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles, of the apostolic age, and even of the Talmud, which does not deny the works of either the Master or his disciples.[2] Finally, these incidents of healing are confirmed by probabilities of every kind. To a certain extent they were antecedently probable, since the people expected such works from a prophet, or indeed from the Messiah, and the art of healing, particularly that of driving out evil spirits, flourished among the Jews, and above all among those who were most renowned for their piety—the Essenes and the Pharisees—and had been introduced into the Greco-Roman world by hundreds of professional dabblers in it.[3] But the probability of the works of healing ascribed to Jesus is to be found still more plainly in their own character; for it is the genuine, historical Jesus who is here exhibiting his compassion towards the needy, is indignant at the power of the evil one, and is constrained to put forth his healing virtue, works fundamentally by means of his spiritual word and requires spiritual faith, and finally imposes silence upon those that are healed. This is a Jesus such as that sensuous, miracle-seeking age could scarcely have invented; but it is a Jesus whose success even in this pro-

[1] Matt. xvi. 1 sqq. Comp. Schleiermacher, p. 223.

[2] Acts x. 38; 1 Cor. xii. 9, 28, 30; 2 Cor. xii. 12; Rom. xv. 19. At a later period, comp. the remarkable sentiments of Quadratus, Eus. 4, 3; Just. *Ap.* II. 6; *Tryph.* 30, 76, 85, 121; Irenæus, 2, 31, 32; Eus. 5, 7. On the Talmud, comp. Lightfoot, pp. 25, 304, 323, 540. See also above, Vol. I. pp. 22 sq.

[3] Comp. Is. xxix. 18, xxxv. 5, xlii. 7, lviii. 8 (*τὰ ἰάματά σου ταχὺ ἀνατελεῖ*). Also Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 11, 3; 8, 2, 5; *B. J.* 2, 8, 6; 7, 6, 3; *Con. Ap.* 1, 31. Justin, *Tryph.* 85. Pliny, *His. Nat.* 30, 2. Lucian. *Philop.* 16. Matt. xii. 27; Luke ix. 49 sq.; Acts xix. 13. The Talmud enumerates the *anshe maasch* = workers of miracles down to R. Channia (A.D. 250); Ammon, *L. J.* p. 130. See also above, Vol. I. p. 377; *Gesch. Christus*, p. 123. Sometimes the Pharisees forbade the exorcising of diseases, and denied eternal life to exorcisers. *Sanhedr.* 90 a; Grätz, III. p. 470. Comp. below, the remarks on the possessed.

vince we can at all events have a presentiment of, if we cannot altogether comprehend it: for who will draw limits to the operation of this word, this—as the beginning showed—soul-piercing word?

At any rate, it was scarcely Jesus' purpose to perform works, or, as he himself was fond of expressing it, to exercise "powers" (δυνάμεις).[1] His chief purpose was to "preach," and like John he sought his vocation in preaching. According to several sources, he met the demand for works of healing by referring to his mission to preach, and to miraculous signs, which he repudiated, he opposed as *his* signs the preaching of repentance and its efficacious influence; and he made life, and blessedness, and safety in the coming universal storm, dependent upon obedience to his word in its earnestness, in its wisdom, and in its love.[2] Hence there is no doubt that Jesus' answer to those who spoke to him of the tetrarch Antipas is not altogether genuine,—an answer in which healing and the expulsion of devils appear as a mission to which he exclusively and passionately devoted himself until he went up to Jerusalem.[3] The great reformation or revolution in the things of the external world, especially the distribution of blessings and the removal of evils, he clearly reckoned among the facts of the future, as the future "addition" to the triple gift of the kingdom of God: in such a sense he spoke of a palingenesis, of a regeneration of the world, and he regarded that as the prerogative of God, while his own duty was the palingenesis of souls.[4]

But here, as in many other cases, facts drove him further, though not exactly upon a "false path," for they were to him the voice of a divine call. The confidence of men and their misery hastened, as is usual and at the same time instinctively—for religion seemed the panacea for all evils—to the new teacher and besought his help, though there was already no lack of phy-

[1] Matt. xi. 21 sqq.; Heb. geburot (jahve), Deut. iii. 24.

[2] Matt. xvi. 1 sqq., xii. 41, vii. 24; Luke iv. 43; Mark i. 38.

[3] Luke xiii. 32.

[4] Matt. vi. 33 sq., xix. 28.

sicians, even of female physicians, in Galilee and in Capernaum itself.[1] The Gospels throughout, the fourth least distinctly, have preserved this historical feature; they show at the beginning, nay, almost everywhere, the absence of initiative in healing on the part of Jesus; the initiative came rather from the people, from the sick, and even the possessed.[2] In the first place, Jesus could not limit and hedge in his love and compassion; on the contrary, his sympathy naturally, as well as from principle, went out towards the wretched, the poor, the "sick."[3] But with this irresistible impulse to compassion, from which he later himself derived the necessity of his performance of works of healing, there came also the question of his mission. There was no question as to his duty to administer spiritual consolation to the sick and infirm, and he therefore performed this duty to the disabled paralytic without delay. But should he give corporal help, or should he refer those who urgently cried for help to God's future time of the "health of Israel"?[4] Salvation, healing, restoration, the appropriate blessing for the dry ground, for the weak and the dead,—these things were the signs of the Messianic period, and were also regarded as such in the teaching of the schools: "He will come and will save you," said Isaiah. Now, if the people met him with this longing and with this faith—whether they regarded him as a prophet or as the Messiah does not matter, for miracles were looked for from both—was it not an indication from above that that time of healing ought to begin at once, and ought not to be delayed until the future to which he was looking forward?[5] Trust in God, and, as a result, deliver-

[1] Comp. Matt. viii. 16, xiv. 35, iv. 24; Mark iii. 11. Physicians at Capernaum, Josephus, *Vita*, 72; female physician (at Gamala), *ib.* 37. Mark v. 26: many physicians. In the Old Testament, several prophets made use of their skill in medicine. Isaiah's figs, Is. xxxviii. 21.

[2] Initiative of Jesus, only in appearance, Matt. viii. 14 (but comp. Luke iv. 38, and better still Mark i. 29), xii. 10. In truth, not found until the later authorities, comp. Luke xiii. 12, xiv. 2; John v. 6, ix. 1.

[3] Matt. ix. 12, 36.

[4] Is. lviii. 8, *τὰ ἰάματά σου ταχὺ ανατελεῖ*; li. 8.

[5] Is. xxxv. 4 sqq.; and the rest of the passages above, p. 172, note 3. Comp. Is. xl. 29 sqq., xliv. 3, lviii. 11, lxv. 20 sqq.

ance from cares and evils; the enriching, saving help of God; the possibility of doing what was impossible,—this was the kernel of his word as he preached it to all and chiefly to the poor: if the diseased sighed and groaned around him, was it not his appointed office, and was it not his certain expectation, to disarm the evil of human life by praying confidence?[1] Finally, in many diseases he read the punishment of sin; and in the most terrible of all diseases, in possession as it everywhere presented itself before the view, the opinion of the people as well as his own saw the power and the tyranny of Satan, who maintained his God-resisting empire in the world and daily pushed it further: was it not his holy task to uproot both sin and the curse of sin, at any rate to be a watchful, active foe to the foe of God and man, instead of idly or at least helplessly gazing, as God's ambassador, at Satan's growing authority, nay, at the daring and defiant invasion of the "spirits"?[2] Out of such reflections there would arise to him the necessity of being the physician of the bodily as well as of the spiritually sick; and before he had fully resolved, and while he still trod the new ground with a kind of timidity and anxiousness, he had already acted in obedience to the right feeling of the moment; nay, without acting, he held the fruits of his appointed labour already in his hand; for under his tender and compassionate glance, under his elevating word, and in the believing touching of his garment, the sick grew well or felt themselves relieved.[3] Such occurrences would not be to him the ground of his conclusion, but would clearly be sources of gratification and encouragement; the unconscious, and still more the conscious, performance of such works appeared now to him-

[1] Matt. vi. 25, 34, xix. 26.

[2] Matt. ix. 2, 29, xii. 25 sqq.

[3] These motives have been forgotten by Renan and Strauss, who simply say that he was compelled to work miracles, real or apparent, whether he wished to do so or not (*Gesch. Christus*, pp. 122 sq.). Comp. Schenkel, pp. 72 sq. Weizsäcker has the two points: (1) Jesus aimed at a comprehensive reformation, at soundness, in contrast to imperfection, of life (p. 362); and (2) the moment overcame him; he was, not without internal timidity, carried away by the agitation of the masses, by the tempestuous movement of spirits (pp. 364 sqq.), and not properly convinced.

self as a new legitimation of his Messianic office, a legitimation which, indeed, he took pains to cover from those who were without—by whom it would at once have been very well understood —by the privacy of his works.[1]

Before we pass on to the details of these works and to the order in which they occurred—chapters which are so difficult that it is impossible to err in placing the centre of gravity in them—it may appear advisable first to obtain a general idea of the character and process of these works of healing, in order at least to get a light thrown over the whole, perhaps also over the individual works. This must be done without many critical presuppositions, which cannot be generally admitted; on the other hand, it must be marked by a preference for the indications of unity and relationship in the reports, the harmony of which, in contrast to what is diverse and irregular, will then at any rate lead to some critical results.

The acts of healing of Jesus presuppose, in general, a certain disposition, and indeed a spiritual disposition, on the part of the sufferers. The sick eagerly seek him, press upon him, fall down before him, touch his clothes, beg for mercy, express faith in his power to help.[2] Instead of the sick themselves, those who belong to them—fathers, mothers, sons-in-law, masters, bearers—often appeal to him, or bring the sick and place them immediately at his feet.[3] This faith often betrays its uncommon strength: the centurion is too humble to ask Jesus to enter his house; he begs for only a word; and he is convinced that if his soldiers come and go at his bidding, then all the spirits of disease, or indeed all earthly things, must be at the command of him who is not a subaltern.[4] Faith betrays its strength chiefly in conflict

[1] Matt. xi. 21, xii. 28, also viii. 4, 18, ix. 30, xii. 16; Mark i. 43, iii. 10, v. 43, vii. 36. Matt. ix. 8, 33.

[2] Matt. viii. 2, ix. 27 sq., xx. 30, ix. 20, xiv. 36; Luke viii. 45; Mark i. 24, 34, 40, iii. 9, 11, ix. 22, &c.

[3] Matt. viii. 6, ix. 2, 18, 32, xiv. 35, xv. 22, 30, xvii. 15; Luke iv. 38; Mark i. 30.

[4] Matt. viii. 5; Luke vii. 1.

with external and internal hindrances. In one place, the bearers of the paralytic, finding no other means of ingress, let down their unfortunate friend with great pains from the roof; in another place, the woman with the issue of blood, forsaken by the whole world, abashed in the presence of Jesus and of men, and with difficulty asserting herself in the pressure of the crowd, yet with faith that she shall be healed then and there, touches the garment of Jesus behind him. In another place, the blind men of Jericho will not be driven away by the people, but cry louder and louder, using even the Messianic title, "Son of David, have mercy!" In yet another place, the Gentile Canaanitish woman is undeterred by Jesus' silence and by his passing by, undeterred even by his repulse and by his hard words, until he himself is compelled to confess: "Woman, thy faith is great!"[1] Jesus demands this faith; when he discovers faith, he consoles the paralytic, and when he hears the believing utterance of the woman he grants her request. He assures himself of the existence of the faith by asking, "What will ye that I should do unto you?" and yet more by the words, "Do ye believe that I can do this?"[2] He excites it, and strengthens it, when it appears to be still impure and half-formed, sometimes by blame and admonition, sometimes by a word of promise, sometimes by both, as in the cases of the lunatic in Mark and of the ruler in John.[3] He supports this faith when external misfortune has seemed to bury it by reaching the stage of sickness unto death: "Fear not; only believe!"[4] Hence, in many cases, he ascribes the deliverance directly to the faith.[5] But where there is no faith, he refuses to perform any miracle; he does no miracle, and can do none.[6]

Sometimes the faith is not mentioned, as, e. g., at the healing

[1] Matt. xv. 22. The other examples are well known.

[2] Matt. ix. 2, xv. 28; xx. 32, ix. 28.

[3] Mark ix. 19, 23 sqq.; John iv. 48, 50. Comp. Martha and Mary, John xi. 21 sqq.

[4] Luke viii. 50; Mark v. 36.

[5] Matt. ix. 22; Luke xviii. 42; Mark x. 52; Luke xvii. 19.

[6] Matt. xii. 39, xvi. 1, xiii. 58; Mark vi. 5, 6.

of the mother-in-law of Peter, and at that of the man with the withered hand.[1] The omission is often due to the rapidity of the narration; in the latter of the above cases, the interest of the narration is altogether absorbed in the controversy that has broken out with the Pharisees. In the incident of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, the existence of the faith is taken for granted: believing disciples are in the company, and the healed woman at once translates her faith into gratitude. So in the narrative of the paralytic, faith is quite incidentally yet certainly assumed; the act of faith seems here to be ascribed chiefly to the bearers of the sick man; but the words of Jesus, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee," show plainly that a bond of faith exists between the sick man and Jesus.[2] To how great an extent the faith of the sick persons was active in the cases of healing at a distance, will have to be considered when those cases come before us. It must be acknowledged that the later Gospels, while they have here and there made the act of faith more prominent, are in other places silent about it, a circumstance which may be dependent upon their view of the miraculous, creative initiative of Jesus. Thus there is no mention of faith in Luke in the cases of the young man of Nain, of the deformed woman, of the man with the dropsy; in Mark, in the cases of the deaf mute and of the blind man of Bethsaida; and in John, in the cases of the paralytic and of the man born blind. John represents the faith of the sisters of Bethany as a wavering reed, before which Jesus is compelled to exhibit the resurrection in reality.[3] It is evident that, contrary to the true history, the works of Jesus have here already become proofs of his glory, which are based upon his nature and do not require human co-operation, or attract that co-operation only as something supplementary and collateral and not really auxiliary.

[1] Matt. viii. 14, xii. 10.

[2] Matt. ix. 1 sqq. "Their faith" applies also to the sick man.

[3] Also in Acts iii. 1, ix. 33, in contrast to xiv. 9, no mention is made of faith. Stronger emphasis laid upon faith in the case of the lunatic, Mark ix. 22 sqq. Martha and Mary, John xi. 21—40.

The healing of the possessed, of which we can here speak only briefly, involved a different set of circumstances. From the nature of the disease, faith on the part of the sufferer could not be reported. On the other hand, faith on the part of the sufferer's friends is not necessarily excluded; and in the narrative of the lunatic this faith is indeed expressly represented as efficacious.[1] But when this faith is altogether wanting, as in the case of the Gadarenes and of the possessed man of Capernaum, instead of it a spiritual excitement on the part of the sufferers themselves is always assumed, and one might say that this was the case here almost more visibly than with other sick persons. There is an anxiety, an alarm, which seizes these persons as soon as they come into contact with Jesus. They have a mental perception of his greatness, and they recoil from him. But in the very act of recoil they are attracted; they cry to him involuntarily, they would be freed of his presence, would be alone, and yet cannot conceal the interest with which they regard him; they beseech their tormenter to leave them, and yet they recognize his power, his just authority; they struggle, in their beclouded consciousness, to become clear as to his nature and their position in relation to him, and then, with or without protest, yield themselves up to the menace or command which he directs towards them. Though all these movements of mind are in the sources ascribed immediately to the foreign "spirit" in the man and not to the man himself, this cannot hinder us in the present day from finding room for more accommodated views, and—what is of most importance—from establishing the fact that the traces of spiritual processes in Jesus' works of healing extend as far as the province in which the result appears to rest upon the simple activity of Jesus, the simple passivity of the man healed.[2]

The prevailing disposition of Jesus, called forth by contact with the wretchedness of the people and issuing in the determi-

[1] Matt. viii. 16, ix. 32, xii. 22, xvii. 14 (Mark ix. 22). But comp. also Luke xiii. 11, where the demoniacal evil does not affect the self-consciousness.

[2] Matt. viii. 28 sqq.; Luke iv. 33; Mark i. 23, &c.

nation to achieve their deliverance, was the participating compassion which, according to the beautiful expression of the second hand in the Gospel of Matthew, he exhibited in taking upon himself the sicknesses of men.[1] This compassion is invoked by the men themselves: "Look upon us," "Help if thou canst," "Have mercy!" Jesus often, both generally and particularly, assumes its existence; nay, it is expressed by himself either explicitly in words, or actually in sighs and utterances, as when he defends his performance of works of healing on the Sabbath by appealing to the universal sentiment of humanity and to the humane custom of saving an unfortunate animal,—how much more an unfortunate man![2] Here and there, besides this compassion or instead of it, we see a joyous or admiring yielding to the irresistible force of the faith that urges itself upon his attention, as in the cases of the centurion, the Canaanitish woman, and the blind men of Jericho. Spiritual sympathy is here yet more strongly developed than compassion; but it leads to a doubly intensified compassion; for the higher interest, just like the lower, strengthens the directly human emotion. At the same time, there is by no means wanting, especially in the presence of demoniacs, anger against Satan who has bound men, or, in the persons of his legionaries, has come in Jesus' way. Yet personal feeling is not the only source of the action of Jesus: that feeling flows into a sense of official duty, and into the liveliest consciousness of a universal, nay, of an Israelitish mission. He recognizes it as his obligation to do good on the Sabbath, and as his commission to diminish the dominion of Satan by plundering the

[1] Matt. viii. 17. Similar expressions in the Talmud concerning the Messiah sojourning among the sick. In imitation of Is. liii., *Soh. Exod.* f. 85, represents the Messiah as crying: Omnes morbi, omnes dolores, omnes pœnæ Israelitarum veniant. Eæque omnes veniunt super ipsum. Nisi autem ille eas auferret ab Israele et transferret in se, non esset ullus homo, qui posset portare castigationes Isr. propt. gravit. poen. leg. Schöttgen, p. 88; Lightfoot, p. 308.

[2] Compassion, Matt. ix. 36, xiv. 14, xv. 32, xx. 34 (comp. viii. 17, x. 6, 8); Luke vii. 13 sq., ix. 38; Mark i. 41, vii. 34. Compassion invoked, Luke ix. 38; Mark ix. 22. Appeal of Jesus, Matt. xii. 11; Luke xiii. 15.

household of Satan.[1] In the fourth Gospel, this official consciousness predominates over the personal feeling, in a peculiar, but certainly not historical, manner. Suffering and disease are here compelled to minister to the honour of God and His Son; the sick Lazarus does not awaken compassion; on the contrary, he must die; and Jesus—a God instead of a man—awaits patiently the sacrifice of death in which the dying and the rising again are destined to glorify him; whilst the natural human feeling, with its deep emotion and tears, asserts itself only by way of complement, too late, and inconsistently enough, at the grave.[2]

Only in rare cases is the act of healing introduced by noticeable emotion on the part of Jesus. The Gospels ordinarily exhibit Jesus in an earnest and exalted condition of mind, it is true, yet quiet and self-possessed; not strikingly excited; at the most, amiable and friendly towards his sick. Thus it happens that he is depicted even as sitting when performing his works of healing.[3] He is most powerfully affected when dealing with the possessed. The "menacing" is not to be thought of apart from such strong excitement; and the special mention by Mark of the saying of the disciples, "He is beside himself," and perhaps also the saying of the Pharisees, "He casts out devils by means of the devil," may have reference to such nervous paroxysms, to the flashing and darkening of the countenance of Jesus.[4] In the cases of other diseases, "menacings" are mentioned by only the later Gospels; for the energetic breathing with which Jesus

[1] Matt. xii. 10, 25 sqq. Compassion, and anger against Satan, Luke xiii. 15, 16. Comp. remarks on Lazarus. Wonder and admiration, Matt. viii. 10, xv. 28, xx. 32. Attitude towards the nation, Matt. ix. 36, x. 6, xv. 24; Luke xiii. 16.

[2] John ix. 3, xi. 4, 40, ii. 11, xi. 33, 35, 38.

[3] Matt. xv. 29 sq.; Mark vii. 34.

[4] Mark iii. 21. But the reference here may be to the incessant and harassing activity in healing sick and demoniacs generally (iii. 10, 11). On account of the probably unhistorical character of this part of Mark, there is however no certainty to be obtained concerning this assumed opinion, which may have been derived from 2 Cor. v. 13; Acts xxvi. 24 (not from 1 Sam. xxi. 13). In Matt. ix. 34, xii. 24, it is the Pharisees who are said to be speaking. These last passages may also have another explanation, viz., that they describe simply the causality, not a *habitus*. But the latter explanation is in harmony with the menacings. Comp. also Matt. xi. 18.

threw his commands at certain of the persons whom he healed, bidding them make nothing known, might be regarded as only a voluntary continuation of the excitement of the act of healing. Of a violent breathing before the act we read only in the latest Gospel, in the narrative of the resurrection of Lazarus. This description is fine, though it is not historical; for as the reason of this repeated violent breathing, of this powerful "self-agitation," we have partly the effect produced upon him by the increasing complaints of the sorrowers, moving him even to tears, partly depression of mind on account of the weak, ever fainting faith of the bereaved, and, finally, partly the internal repulsion and disgust of the man of life in the presence of the horrid facts of death and decay, that seemed to give him the lie. Only we are not able to forget that Jesus had, with uncompassionate deliberation, himself procured and prepared the hostile fact.[1]

The healing itself seems, in a very preponderant degree, to have been communicated by and dependent upon a sentence uttered with infinite confidence, and with the self-consciousness of one who was sure of success, an utterance in which only the most perverted mistrust would detect a fictitious transference of the divine creative formula to the Messiah.[2] The sentence is sometimes the simple affirmation of the expressed wish, accompanied occasionally by a stretching out of the hand in token of compliance; and sometimes it is a brief word of command: "I will, be thou clean;" "As thou hast believed, so be it unto thee;" "Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity;" "Stretch forth thine hand;" "Take up thy bed, and walk;" "Maid, or young

[1] Luke iv. 39. Comp. Mark v. 40. Angry demeanour or violent breathing, Matt. ix. 30; Mark i. 43; John xi. 33, 38. Sympathy with the mourners, vers. 33, 35. Grieved by unbelief, vers. 37, 38 (comp. Matt. ix. 25).

[2] Matt. viii. 8, 16, ix. 2, 6. Luke and Mark, notwithstanding their materializing tendency, also assume this purely spiritual procedure, *e.g.*, in the cases of the infirm man, of the man with the withered hand, of the blind man of Jericho, and of all the possessed. An imitation of the divine efficacious word may be conjectured in the incident of stilling the storm, Matt. viii. 26 (see indeed Mark iv. 39); but not in the so evidently psychologico-ethical mode of operation of Jesus.

man, I say unto thee, arise;" "Lazarus, come forth;" "Hold thy peace, thou unclean spirit, and come out of him."[1] Yet such words of command have been fabricated by the later Gospels, in which they are found even where they are wanting in the writings of the earlier narrators; the later Gospels, moreover, develop them more fully, and wrap them in Aramaic words as if they were magical formulæ.[2] It is full of significance that Jesus often either prefaces or supplements this expression of compliance with an encouraging, confidence-awakening exclamation, or with a menacing, warning one: "Be of good cheer, my son, my daughter;" "Go in peace, thou art made whole;" "Sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee."[3] It is still more significant that he first offers to the infirm man the spiritual consolation of forgiveness, and then grants him bodily healing as a kind of consequence; and that, finally, by connecting the result with the faith to which he holds out the promise of success,—"Be of good cheer, daughter, thy faith hath saved thee!"—he brings into operation the whole energy and weight of the human will, of human hope, struggling, and self-reliance, as completely as it is possible for them to be called into exercise and intensified.

In most cases, in the best attested cases, and without exception in all the cases of the healing of the possessed, such an utterance is the only means employed by Jesus to effect the cure. The sensible proximity of Jesus to the sick or to the dead

[1] Matt. viii. 3, 13, ix. 6, 22, 29, xii. 13; Luke iv. 35, vii. 14, xiii. 12, &c.; Mark i. 25, ii. 11, &c. The cry, "I say unto thee," a favourite expression of Mark's, ii. 11 (Luke v. 24), v. 41 (on the other hand, Luke viii. 54). Also Mark ix. 25. In v. 41, the writer shows that *he* has introduced the expression.

[2] Comp. the young daughter in Luke viii. 54, Mark v. 41, with Matt. ix. 25; the lunatic in Mark ix. 25 with Matt. xvii. 18, Luke ix. 42; the Gadarene in Mark v. 8 with Matt. viii. 32, Luke viii. 29. Also Luke iv. 35; Mark i. 25, iv. 39. The Aramaic phrases of Mark v. 41, vii. 34. Comp. moreover the Gnostics, Irenæus, 1, 21, 3 (also Eus. 4, 11): Ἑβραϊκά τινα ὀνόματα ἐπιλέγουσι, πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς τελειουμένους. Similarly, Alexander the prophet of lies, Luc. *Alex.* 13; comp. Plutarch, *De Superstit.* 3. Even Volkmar (p. 389) admits that the foreign language is representative of magic.

[3] Matt. ix. 2, 22; Luke viii. 48; Mark v. 34; John v. 14.

is generally assumed, except in the cases of avowed healing at a distance; but the intrinsic value of this proximity lies in the fact that the sick are thereby enabled to hear Jesus' word or to see his person. At the same time, there are certainly cases reported of a sensible taking hold of the sick. He touches the leper, he takes Peter's mother-in-law and Jairus' daughter by the hand. In a number of passages this sensible contact has altogether taken the place of the utterance.[1] In the later Gospels, these sensible means, these material ceremonies, are strikingly multiplied; though, again, in other places these later writers give simply the utterance where Matthew speaks of healing by sensible contact. Jesus takes the sick aside, sets them forth, places himself at the head of the bed on which the sick are lying, is ever laying his hands upon the sick, lifts up the sick, touches the bier of the dead. He effects numerous cures by anointing (a recipe that he also gives to his disciples), he places his fingers in the ears of the deaf mute, he spits and touches the man's tongue with the spittle, he spits upon the eyes of the blind and lays his hands upon him; nay, in John's Gospel, a washing in the pool of Siloah is added to the use of the spittle in the case of the man born blind.[2] It belongs to this pseudo-medical method, which is distinctly brought into comparison with the attempts and failures of medical men, that Jesus makes exact inquiries before the healing into the circumstances connected with the sickness, in order to arrive at a diagnosis, that he in-

[1] Matt. viii. 15, ix. 25, comp. ver. 29, xx. 34, xxi. 14.

[2] Luke xiv. 4; Mark vii. 33, viii. 23. Mark iii. 3; Luke iv. 39. Laying on of hands, Luke iv. 40, xiii. 13; Mark vi. 5; lifting up the sick, Mark i. 31; the bier, Luke vii. 14; oil, Mark vi. 13; spittle, Mark vii. 33, viii. 23; John ix. 6 sqq. Matthew *rejects* the spittle, see Volkmar, p. 409, and Weizsäcker here inclines to accept it (p. 372), while Schenkel (p. 117) and Hausrath (p. 380) believe in the same; and Volkmar adventurously converts the oil into Christianity (p. 351), and the spittle into the mouth of Jesus (pp. 387, 407). On the other hand, in the case of the blind men, Matthew gives the sensible contact, which is wanting in Luke xviii. 42; Mark x. 52. Also in the case of the mother-in-law, Luke at least has only the words, though in the cases of the demoniacs he has the rebuking, iv. 39.

troduces or effects the cure gradually, and that after the cure he gives directions as to the diet and the rest of his patients.[1]

We should undoubtedly be missing the way if, like so many moderns since Paulus, we thanked these later authors for their disclosures and explanations, for their solution of the enigmas, for their pointing to the medical skill and the Essene remedies of Jesus. With their materialistic descriptions, they give only an obscure mixture of rationalism and superstition. As cultured Westerns, they might believe in natural, rational, gradually operating means employed by Jesus to effect his cures; as Easterns, prone to believe in the mysterious, they might represent him as the bearer of divine powers, not in his spirit, but in his body, powers which were operative by the contact of his body, his hands and fingers, with the sick.[2] As to the degree in which that rationalism with its gradual cures can be made to combine with this mysterious mode of suddenly awakening the dead by mere contact with the bier, they have not troubled themselves, and hence there remains after all the impression of a mysteriously manipulating magician.[3] It is most important here to notice that the healing by words, which did not necessarily at any rate require supplementary means, is copiously attested, and in the writings of the later authors themselves occasionally appears strangely mixed up with their additions; and, moreover, that this mode of healing alone answers to the ideal, spiritual character of the whole ministry of Jesus, and is

[1] Comparison, Mark v. 26; inquiries, Mark ix. 21; gradual character of cure, viii. 23 sqq.; diet, Luke viii. 55; Mark v. 43; rest, John xi. 44.

[2] Comp. the employment of oil and spittle in medicine and magic, Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 6, 5; James v. 14; Tertullian, *Scap.* 4; Suet. *Vespas,* 7; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4, 81; Dio C. 66, 8. Magic, with spittle, Pliny, *H. n.* 28, 2, 4; Pers. 2, 33; Prop. 4, 7, 37; Tertullian, *Jej.* 6. Anointing the sick in the Jewish exorcisms: Ille, qui mussitat (incantat), det oleum super caput et mussitet. Lightfoot, pp. 303 sq. Physical power, Luke v. 17, vi. 19, viii. 44 sqq.; Mark v. 29; comp. vi. 56, Matt. xiv. 36 (communicated in answer to request). The "magical" element in Mark, see also Volkmar, p. 391.

[3] Irenæus, 1, 24, 5: Utuntur et hi (Basilid.) magia et incantationibus et invocat. et reliqua universa periergia (Acts xix. 19).

most consistent with his initial resistance, which was only possible on the supposition that Jesus never was a physician, and never used or wished to use external means.[1] Or does any one think that, having been forced into practices similar to those of physicians, he afterwards learnt the physician's art? At the same time, it would have to be acknowledged that, in individual cases, attested by all the sources, Jesus effected cures by means of touching, and that in this fact there is to be found an excuse for a representation which draws too large conclusions from the cases of cure by touching. Cure by sensible contact was the form which the materialistic and even superstitious thought of the people most frequently longed for—so much so that this very request was made to him, "Lay thy hand on and bless;" "Allow thyself to be touched;" and that, without any request and in spite of his forbidding it, the people crowded round him and handled his clothes, and even without his active participation sick persons were healed by thus handling his clothes.[2] This form Jesus consented to adopt, though he sought to lift the faith of the people higher, omitted or otherwise applied the desired form, repressed or set it aside by insisting upon faith in his word. And he was able to descend to this form, because by means of it men most easily exercised the faith—more or less pure—which he required; and because in this mode of action, which alone was applicable to the possessed, on account of their wildness and their natural fear of him, he could give full expression to his

[1] Healing by words, comp. the infirm man, the centurion, the Tyrian woman, the man with the withered hand, the persons that were possessed. Combination of words and sensible contact, Luke vii. 14, viii. 54, and Mark v. 41 (against Matt. ix. 25); Luke xiii. 12 sq. Words unnecessary, Mark v. 34, comp. ver. 29. Protracted operation in the case of blind man, Mark viii. 23; and, on the other hand, merely words, Mark x. 52; Luke xviii. 42, where Matt. xx. 34 has only contact.

[2] Laying on of hands asked for, Matt. ix. 18; Mark vii. 32, viii. 22; comp. 2 Kings v. 11; contact, Matt. xiv. 36; touching his clothes, ix. 20; Mark iii. 10 sq.; merely words asked for, Matt. viii. 8, comp. ver. 16; healing without active participation of Jesus, see the woman with the issue of blood in Luke and Mark, but Matt. xiv. 36 is somewhat different.

self-denying devotedness to the suffering, to his ardent desire to help them, and to his deep sympathy with them.[1]

The Gospels throughout represent the result of the utterance and of the sensible contact as instantaneous, emphatically as real and not illusory, though cases of impossibility of healing because of defective faith, and also of relapse of the sick, are not excluded.[2] In numberless instances it is said, "They were immediately healed," "They were all healed." "As soon as he had spoken," says Mark, "the leprosy disappeared." Peter's mother-in-law stands up at once and serves the guests. The infirm man takes up his bed and walks. The young man of Nain sits up and begins to talk. Lazarus, wrapped in his grave-clothes, hastily comes forth out of the sepulchre. In the cases of healing at a distance, it is calculated more or less exactly how the word of Jesus was efficacious "in the same hour" at a not very remote distance, or at a distance of five leagues. There is something grand and impressive in these descriptions of the effects produced in nature by the word, by the spirit. Certainly they are effects which, in such an immediateness, seem to belong less to experience than to poetry and myth. And a mythical character is visibly impressed upon many of these narratives. But to say this does not by any means necessarily imply that the gradualness of certain cures possesses a firm historical basis. Gradual cures are narrated in an extremely small number of instances and only in the later Gospels; and if we exclude those —as the healing of the infirm man—in which Jesus prolonged the action for ethical or pedagogical reasons, where the result still is instantaneous, there remains simply the narrative of the blind man in Mark, and even there the patient obtains his perfect eyesight in the course of a few minutes. This one example has no weight against the countless number that differ from it; and it is altogether a late, artificial, rationalistic picture of Mark's

[1] Instead of the asked-for laying on of hands, taking the dead by the hand, Matt. ix. 18, 25.

[2] Matt. xiii. 58, xii. 43 sqq.

We may say that the proof lies entirely on the side of the sudden cures; and though it is not to be denied that many of these have had their origin simply in myth or in system, yet there is nothing to show that the less frequent actual cures effected by Jesus were not of this rapid character, since we are not prevented on rational grounds from ascribing to him a powerful and intensified spiritual influence.[1]

The operative power by which the works of Jesus were wrought, was regarded by himself differently than by—not only his opponents but also—the people and several Evangelists. His opponents explained his power to themselves and the people as due to a covenant with Satan, therefore as a Satanic power: the people explained it as a divine power; but, in keeping with their tendency of thought, they gave to their explanation an immediate and sensuous character, and sought his power in his body and even in his clothes. Hence the touchings without end.[2] The Evangelists have not risen altogether superior to this conception. Only two of them have looked beyond it: Matthew —who, it is true, is merely an empiric, but is on this very account so valuable to history—does not believe in the power of sensible contact, but only in the power of the words and the will of Jesus; and John, the metaphysician, derives the ability of Jesus intrinsically from his divine attributes, from his godlike possession of power, life, and glory.[3] On the other hand, in Luke and Mark the popular opinion prevails; contact with the clothes of Jesus is immediately curative, as in the case of the woman with the issue of blood; for since God is with him, therefore the divine forces are operative in him, stream forth from him and heal all who come into contact with him.[4] Jesus himself does not betray any knowledge of this outflow of healing

[1] Mark viii. 23 sqq.; comp. Luke xvii. 14; John ix. 6 sqq.

[2] The devil, Matt. ix. 34, xii. 24; power of God, Luke v. 17, vi. 19, viii. 46; Mark v. 30 (iii. 10, vi. 56). Comp. Antipas, Matt. xiv. 1.

[3] Matt. viii. 16, ix. 21, 22, comp. xiv. 36; John v. 17 sqq. &c. (ii. 11, xi. 40).

[4] See the passages above, note 2. Already in Acts x. 38 it is said, God was with him!

power. He harmonizes with Matthew, connecting his power only with his word, or more exactly with his human word; and he goes beyond Matthew by showing the deep foundation of this efficacious word. It is his own subjective faith, his firm confidence in God, through which he obtains not only a hearing, but also immediately active, effectual power, and through which also his disciples receive strength to remove mountains; it is, in the next place, by the objective gift of God's Spirit—whose connection with his life of faith he does not however exactly describe—that he repeats the works of the prophets, possesses power and authority, casts out evil spirits, and sets up the kingdom of God in the stead of the kingdom of Satan.[1] In the restoration of the possessed, he claims the whole operation as his own deed; in the healing of the sick, he divides the result between himself and the healed. In the often-used words, "Thy faith hath saved thee!" he depicts faith neither as the single means, nor again as a means inefficacious of itself and only morally indispensable. The latter view is directly refuted by the expression which ascribes to faith the office not only of calling forth Jesus' own personal willingness to assist, but also of itself supplying actual help; the former view is opposed by the frequently-occurring form of expression in which Jesus emphasizes the dependence of his own or of the divine participation in the cure upon that of the sick person: "According to thy faith, so be it unto thee!" To Jesus, the deciding power evidently lies in the combined believing energy of the healed and the healer.[2]

In harmony with the above, Jesus could not form a low estimate of the value of his works, or a lower estimate than that of the people, the disciples, and the Evangelists. If lower, it was only in so far as he required first of all faith in his preaching and in the spiritual results of his preaching, and directly refused the visible signs from heaven which some sought for and which

[1] Matt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21, comp. xxvii. 43. The Spirit, xii. 25 sqq.

[2] Matt. viii. 13, ix. 22, xv. 28; Luke xvii. 19, xviii. 42; Mark x. 52.

others missed.[1] But besides faith in his preaching, he also required faith in his signs, and so much the more because by those very signs he preached and in the most direct manner wrought spiritually upon the minds of the people; and in refusing signs from heaven with their unfruitful gratification of curiosity, he by no means renounced the signs upon earth, the signs of the times, the fruitful, curative, efficacious signs wrought upon men.[2] The fourth Gospel first confounded the two kinds of signs, and brought into view, in endless contradiction with itself, the antipathy of Jesus to the signs from heaven which were to compel men to believe.[3] Jesus himself, on the contrary, gave a testimony to the priests at Jerusalem in the healing of the leper; in the healing of the paralytic he showed to the Pharisees the authority of the Son of Man to forgive sins on earth as the representative of God; he took it amiss that the Pharisees and the Baptist did not see the signs of the times, the signs of the near approach of the time of fulfilment and of the Messiah, in his preaching and in all the results of his preaching; he regarded it as criminal on the part of the people that they did not believe the works which, never wrought before by any prophet, would inevitably bring even the Gentiles to repentance, and on the part of the Pharisees that they, blasphemers against the Spirit beyond forgiveness, ascribed to a diabolical source the works of the Spirit of God, works which showed the actual advent of the kingdom of God.[4] A man would have to turn away his eyes altogether not to see that Jesus believed that in his works of healing he was giving to himself and the people, to friend and foe, a large amount of Messianic proof; and the fact that at least in the beginning he kept his works private, and forbade, though in vain, their being noised abroad, is explicable simply on the ground that he wished to avoid a premature

[1] Matt. xii. 41, xvi. 1.

[2] Matt. xvi. 1.

[3] John iv. 48 (xx. 29). Comp. above, p. 154. In John xiv. 10 (opp. ver. 11), the words of Jesus are also reckoned with the ἔργα.

[4] Matt. viii. 4, ix. 6, xi. 1 sqq., 20 sqq., xii. 25 sqq., xvi. 1 sqq.

announcement of his prophetic, his Messianic calling, which might shorten, or nullify, or even falsify, his life-works.[1]

These general results, though they are principally of a negative kind, are by no means of inconsiderable importance, since they show what the works of Jesus, according to all evidences, were not. These works, first of all, were no mere more or less medicinal cures brought about by actual medical skill on the part of Jesus similar to that practised by the Essenes, as Rationalism is anxious to prove; or by magical jugglery and Egyptian sorcery, as Celsus, the Talmudists, and to some extent also Reimarus and Renan, have held; or, what is least objectionable, by the involuntary and voluntary transference of healthy nervous force to the sick, as Gutsmuths taught in the beginning of the present century, and as Weisse has recently maintained in his theory of magnetic forces.[2] All these views are refuted by the fact that Jesus ordinarily wrought his works of healing simply and with surprising suddenness by his word, without means or instruments, without water or oil, herbs or stones, names or

[1] Matt. viii. 4, ix. 30, xii. 16; Luke viii. 56; Mark v. 43, vii. 36, viii. 26. On the other hand, Luke viii. 39, in the case of the Gadarene, contains an injunction to make the incident known. Also Mark v. 19.

[2] According to Paulus (*Leben Jesu*, I. p. 123), Jesus derived his skill from the Essenes, was an experienced physician, made prognosis in each case (p. 201), required time to perfect his cures (p. 277), gave exact prescriptions (p. 249). Venturini speaks of herbs, tinctures (I. pp. 145, 149), of instruments, and of a portable medicine-chest (p. 154). Ewald (3rd ed. V. pp. 296, 425) also speaks of appropriate external means, of acquired skill and practices of the profession.—On Celsus, see above, Vol. I. pp. 30 sqq.; Talmud, ib. pp. 21 sqq.; III. p. 172. Reimarus (p. 249) says that before the uneducated Jesus performed works that were miraculous only in appearance, but that before the educated he merely spoke abusively. Renan (pp. 255 sqq.) says that Jesus, like Simon Magus, practised charlatanry and jugglery, at first against his will, and afterwards as a means towards a moral end. Comp. Strauss, p. 266 (*Gesch. Chr.* pp. 121 sqq.). H. C. Gutsmuths, *Diss. med. de Christo medico*, Jena, 1812. Comp. Ennemoser, Kieser, J. A. G. Meyer, Passavant in Winer and Hase (§ 47). Weisse (I. pp. 335 sqq.) goes so far as to refer Jesus' public appearance as Messiah to this magnetic force, and to explain the circumstances ending in his death at Jerusalem as resulting from the decline of this force. Yet Weisse regards the force of animal-magnetism, in others only an accidental phenomenon, as a necessary accompaniment of Jesus' higher nature. Krauss (*Lehre v. d. Offenb.* 1868, p. 212) opposes this theory, which is shared by Krabbe (p. 285), Lange (II. p. 284), and Pressensé (p. 384); but, with Rothe, leaves open the question of unknown natural forces.

formulæ, incubation or even contact, without ceremonies or complicated processes of any kind; and that, moreover, we have nowhere any evidence, certain or even probable, either of a medical training of Jesus or of his possession of a superior nervous force. Little as these works are the results of mere human handicraft in either a good or a bad sense, as little are they the opposite, namely, expressions of a divine immanence, manifestations of a higher nature, as has been asserted by dogmatists and romanticists of all kinds from the fourth Gospel down to Steinmeyer. For Jesus everywhere assumes the genuine human character of his works, his essential equality with his human disciples, who can rival and even surpass him; and the facts themselves reveal the intrinsic influence of his human compassion as well as of the human faith which grows out of this compassion. Even a less extreme view of the immediately divine factor in his works of healing is in the main opposed by the records, though such a view seems most readily to connect itself with our belief in God, and best to solve the enigmas of these unique miracles of healing. The view we refer to is the faith in a special divine hearing of prayer, in such a sense that God Himself is the real actor, and Jesus only the mediator, intercessor, proclaimer, and communicator.[1] While it is unquestionable that Jesus ascribed the results he achieved to God, that he sought his power and preparation for preaching and for healing in prayer, that he also encouraged his faithful followers to achieve unhoped-for successes in obtaining personal gifts and powers, even as to earthly matters, on the same celestial path of prayer; it is yet a still more significant fact that Jesus, in the moment of healing, except in a quite unimportant number of instances in weakly attested narratives, where he looked up to heaven or called upon God, did not pray, that likewise he did not instruct his disciples to heal by means of prayer, but that he directly regarded trust, confidence, and the call and command of confidence, as itself an

[1] Thus Pressensé, p. 378 (renunciation of omnipotence !). Beyschlag, *Christ.* xiii. sq.

efficacious and irresistible force.[1] It might at first be supposed that in the frequently-occurring expression, "Be it unto thee according to thy faith," Jesus in reality uttered a wish of blessing which was equivalent to a supplicatory cry to God; but it is plain that that wish was at least no prayer in itself, but was regarded as the bearer of an efficacious power, and Jesus indeed ascribed such a power to the mere greeting of "Peace!" by his Apostles. To refer this power of faith to the power of prayer has been again and again attempted with very brilliant arguments; but sober investigation refuses to ignore the distinction which the words and the conduct of Jesus have made; it refuses to transform human power at once into divine power, and consequently finds it necessary to consider — not how believing prayer can call forth divine activity, but — only how faith strengthened by desire and prayer can of itself effect the greatest results.[2]

Whilst, therefore, the cause of the great results under consideration is to be sought in the first instance in Jesus himself, or more exactly in his spiritual life with his human force of will and his religious confidence, but also with that passionate sympathy and complete self-surrender with which he approached the universal misery, it lies in the nature of the subject that we must not forget the second factor which the lips of Jesus himself sufficiently emphasized. As spirit, according to its nature, is in the highest degree capable of influencing spirit, so, in these

[1] Result produced by God, Matt. ix. 6; Luke viii. 39, comp. v. 17, vi. 17, ix. 43; Matt. ix. 8; prayer enjoined, Matt. xxi. 21 sq.; retirement for prayer previous to works of healing, Luke v. 16, vi. 12; looking up to heaven (at the miracle of feeding), Matt. xiv. 19; Mark vi. 41, vii. 34 (deaf-mute); John xi. 41 (Lazarus). Prayer at the miracle of feeding and at the raising of Lazarus. The intimation that devils can be driven out only by prayer and fasting does not belong to Matt. xvii., as verse 21 should be erased on the authority of *Sin.* and *Vat.* (see Tischendorf); but it first appears, and then without "fasting," in Mark ix. 29. Ewald (p. 464) still holds the verse to be genuine, and explains it incorrectly. The power of faith, Matt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21; authority, ix. 6; power of the spirit, xii. 28. Comp. the words, "Wherefore *could* we not?" xvii. 19. On the other hand, Num. xii. 13, "Heal her, O God!" Comp. 2 Kings v. 11; Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 11, 3, healing leprosy by prayer.

[2] Matt. viii. 13, ix. 29, xv. 28; comp. Mark i. 25, iv. 39.

healing processes, the co-operation of the patients is beyond all doubt recognized by Jesus.[1] In the opinion of the people in Galilee—if not at Jerusalem, where the miraculous ceased—Jesus, reverenced as the great man, the prophet, the saviour, called forth love by his personally manifested love, faith by his faith, volition by his volition, powerfully enough to determine and change the course of the physical life. We do not here propose to draw safely to shore by means of a single phrase all the reports of works of healing in the Gospels, or, having long since given up the above attempt, even a part of those reports. The reader is as little likely as the writer to mistake as to the impossibility of solving the problem of spirit and matter, of body and soul, either in a life of Jesus or elsewhere. We must, however, be permitted both to uphold the special solution which Jesus himself pointed out, and to illustrate it with some analogies from experience. Undoubtedly many of Jesus' works of healing belonged preponderantly to the province of spirit, as, notably, the cases of healing the possessed: it is not possible here, in the face of the strong excitement which Jesus at once and very visibly produced upon minds in this condition, to dispute the probability of a setting free of the higher self-consciousness, especially of the enslaved volition.[2] Other cases belonged rather to the physical province; but here also the diseases were unmistakably more or less accompanied—as in the case of the infirm man—by circumstances of spiritual sorrow or impotence. Here it is at once intelligible that the mere stimulation of the oppressed or dormant life of the soul would bring with it an immediate release from the predominance

[1] Wolfg. Rychard of Ulm, the enlightened, humanistic physician of the Reformation period, in his letters finely pointed out the operative power of the "confidentia" of the sick. See my essay on W. Rychard, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1853, p. 315.

[2] Schleiermacher (pp. 214 sq., 218 sq., 226) rightly speaks of the influence of the dominant will upon an oppressed will. Similarly Lotze, *Medic. Psychol.* pp. 302 sq. Comp. Hufeland, Tissot, and others, in Padioleau-Eisenmann, p. 161; and the old book, *Medic. hermen. Unters. d. in d. Bibel vorkomm. Krankengesch.* 1794 (said to be by Prof. Schreger, of Erlangen).

of, from the one-sided slavery to, material infirmities and pains: this can be illustrated from the experience of every one who has watched himself, and has forgotten his body amid the activity of his mind. This mastery of the spirit over the flesh is, according to its nature, without definite limits. At least, experience teaches that the agitation of vivid imaginings and volitions has suddenly and completely either overcome or produced physical obstacles and pains; that imaginary illnesses have passed into actual illnesses, and *vice versa;* that the power of the imagination truly resembles the creative action of the womb. In this sense, Kant spoke long ago of the capacity of the will to become master of the diseased sensations of the body. In such a manner do men regard, with many deductions but without absolute rejection, the numberless reports of heathen, Jewish, and Christian times, concerning sudden miraculous healings at epochs of spiritual excitement by the influence of great occasions, great men, or great institutions, such even as monkish saints and cloisters, which to-day are anachronisms and are nourished only by superstition.[1]

[1] The Jewish miracles, comp. *Geschichtl. Chr.* p. 123. Among the heathen, the healings in the temples (*e.g.* in the temple of Æsculapius at Ægæ; in the Egyptian temples); Apollonius of Tyana; even the emperor Vespasian, Suet. *Vesp.* 7; Tacitus, *Hist.* 4, 81; Dio C. 66, 8. Christian healings of demoniacs, even attested cases of raising the dead to life, in Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius (4, 5); see above, p. 172. The founders of cloisters in the Middle Ages, Francis D'Assisi, Catherine of Sienna. Miracles at Rome and Naples, Einsiedeln and Treves. English kings, also, were renowned workers of miracles; see Hase, *Gnosis*, 2nd ed. I. p. 440. In later times, the miracles of the Appellants, and of the sects. The worker of miracles, Johann Joseph Gassner (died 1779), who healed and did not heal more than 20,000 men (*Herzog's Enc.* IV. p. 464); the Canon Prince Alexander of Hohenlohe, in the third decade of the present century. Particular recent instances, the pastor Blumhardt in Swabia, recognized in Guerike's Church History as the restorer of the apostolic gift of healing; Fraülein v. Seckendorf, in Kannstatt (disciple of the virgin Trudel, in Männedorf, Canton Zurich, whose successor was the preacher Zeller); the Catholic curates at Balingen (healers by anointing), and the spinning women in Thamm, near Ludwigsburg; and finally the famous Catholic exorcism in Alsatia (A.D. 1870), where the devil entered into not only swine but also geese. On the other hand, in the same year, the aspirant to infallibility, Pius IX., failed to effect a miracle similar to that in Matt. ix. 6. Attested narrations in Paulus, *Exeget. Hdb.* I. ii. p. 508. A collection of narrations in Dr. A. Padioleau's work on Moral Therapeutics in the Treatment of Nervous Diseases (awarded a prize by the Parisian Academy of Medicine), translated by Dr. Eisenmann, Würzburg, 1865. A number of analogous instances further on.

To mention only one instance, how remarkable are the healings by Vespasian in Alexandria, attested by three writers and the most credible living witnesses![1] We do not degrade Jesus by admitting Vespasian's healings to have been facts; we do not thereby cause Jesus' works of healing to evaporate in phantasy-cures,—the term used by Strauss in order to express partly the secondary importance of the person of Jesus, and partly the unreal or at least only transient nature of the healings. For though it may be that such healings occurred in other times also, yet they occurred in his time in a special degree only in connection with and through him; and other times have been unequal to his, in the extent and attestation of the cures, and chiefly in the purity and depth of the moral-religious basis, even though it is too much to talk—with Ewald or Holtzmann—of thousands of cases of healing.[2] But no one was restored without his participation, and merely by virtue of the patient's own imagination; for the few individuals of whom we have isolated reports that they were restored without his knowledge and volition, merely by touching his clothing, came into contact not only with his mantle, but also with his personality, and with that personal influence of his which laid hold of the whole of the people. It was necessary that he should be there, that he should operate; that he should reveal in his preaching a new God, a new universe; and in his works of healing, in his compassion, and in the certainty of success with which he wrought his works, a new, a higher, a sublime man. Only under these conditions could the masses be inspired with enthusiastic faith, or the newly-breathing hearts and spirits of the sick and their friends with longing and hope, with the willingness to co-operate. He gave the impulse, they yielded to it; and he received the impulse from God, who empowered him thus to work, conferring upon his royal mind "authority" for ever, and enabling him to exercise

[1] See previous note. Volkmar (p. 407), indeed, derives Mark viii. 23 from this circumstance.

[2] Ewald, p. 298; Holtzmann, *Jüd. Gesch.* pp. 355, 368.

this authority in each instance by virtue of his divine and prayerful life.[1] It must suffice in this place to state general views and general probabilities, leaving the definite details to be given in their respective places. It belongs, however, to this general review not to overlook the fact that the view which has been unfolded, the psychologico-ethic view, is the prevailing one in the science of to-day; and that the old unqualified belief in the miraculous was condemned as long ago as the time of Ammon, as a spiritual idiosyncrasy.[2]

C.—The Order and the Beginning of the Works of Healing.

The uncertainty as to the order and even as to the commencement of the works of Jesus, has been already above lamented. Opinion in this matter is by no means shut up to the illusion that in any one of our Gospels, in the Gospel which each person happens to select as his favourite, the purest and the truest sequence and the purest and the truest commencement of the miraculous works of Jesus can be easily and conveniently grasped and plucked like ripe apples. It would certainly be an excellent thing if such were the case: how content would be the chronologist who foregoes the correct sequence of the events with a very heavy heart; how happy would be the psychologist who wishes to study the laws of the development of this part of the ministry of Jesus with infallible certainty! Nay, if we had but the commencement, how beautifully could we carry further the threads of the texture whose secret we should then have dis-

[1] Matt. ix. 6, xii. 28.

[2] Besides the medical writers (comp. above, p. 194, Wolfg. Rychard in the 16th century; more recent writers, ib.), among the modern theologians who hold this view are Schleiermacher, Hase, Hausrath, Holtzmann, Rothe, Schenkel, A. Schweizer, Weizsäcker, and to some extent also Paulus, Neander, Winer, Ewald, Lange, Krauss, and from another side Strauss and Renan. Hence that what Jesus did was only *mirabile*, not *miraculum*, Schleiermacher, Neander, Rothe, A. Schweizer, Krauss. Not only does Schleiermacher rejoice that few objective nature-miracles are recorded, but Neander, Ewald, and Weisse, do the same. Ammon, *Fortbildung*, p. 333.

covered! But nothing of all this is offered to us; and it is of no profit to imagine that Mark will to-day, as John was supposed to do yesterday, smooth away all controversy. Matthew insists upon being heard as well as Mark; and it does not require much skill to discover the artifices which Matthew, and Luke, and Mark, and even their predecessors, employed, in order to restore an orderly and if possible instructive sequence or development, with great freedom, in truth, as regards the actual course of events.[1] Since this is so, it may seem advisable, on account of the uncertainty of the sequence of the kinds and of the occurrence of miracles, to bring together at once all the accounts and all the incidents into one section. But this method would not only be wearisome on account of the length of the section and the similarity of the pictures, it would also involve a complete surrender of the historical process. It is clear that the further course of the life of Jesus would be emptied and denuded by this placing of all the facts at the beginning. It is clear that the extent and the character of Jesus' works of healing in the first Galilean period are different from what they are in the second Galilean period, when their fame goes through the whole land; and different again from what they are in the Jerusalemitic period, when the miracles have as good as died out.

[1] The miracle cycle of Matt. viii. ix. shows artificial aggregation. The eight principal narrations = the eight beatitudes, the first quaternion pointing twice to Israel and twice to the Gentiles. The last two miracles in Matthew are duplicates of former narrations. But similar, only smaller, groups in Luke iv. 31 sqq.; Mark i. 21 sqq. See also Luke vii. 1—17; and in Luke and Mark the four great miracles between the parables and the mission, Luke viii. 22—56; Mark iv. 35—v. 43, and the closing group of Mark vii. 24—viii. 26. Certain conclusions are indeed no longer possible. With only some degree of *probability* can it be assumed, with regard to Matt. viii. ix., in relation to Luke and Mark, that (1) Matthew has indulged too much in grouping incidents together, especially those which stood before and after his antedated Sermon on the Mount; (2) Luke and Mark have here given the sequence of some of the events more correctly, but even they have arbitrarily placed some, *e. g.*, the demoniac, too early; (3) the oldest tradition may have been, (*a*) the mother-in-law and the evening of works of healing (in Matthew these are preceded by the leper, the centurion, Judaism and heathenism; in Luke and Mark by the demoniac); (*b*) the leper, in Matthew significantly placed as the first miracle, Luke iv.; Mark iii.; (*c*) the infirm man at Capernaum; (*d*) the centurion (after the Sermon on the Mount, which must be placed later). See Matthew and Luke.

It is clear that many of the works presuppose a strengthened self-consciousness on the part of Jesus, and a strengthened faith on the part of the disciples and the people: such works therefore cannot be placed in the beginning. Finally, it is clear that many of the works of healing are most intimately bound up with the later Galilean adventures and conflicts of Jesus: should we bring the earlier and the later incidents together into one section, or should we relate twice the later facts with their accompanying struggles, the exhibition of which naturally falls late?

Whilst the historical interest raises these objections to the centralization of the works of Jesus, it has already, notwithstanding all the hindrances and difficulties, won and established certain distinctions of date. We have now therefore to press on upon the same road from one point to another by a study of the facts and of the writers. In the first place, it must be noted that a number of miracles of healing and of great works consistently stand either near the beginning or near the end: Peter's mother-in-law, the leper, the infirm man, the centurion, appear early; the Canaanitish woman, the lunatic, the blind men of Jericho, and, when examined closely, also the Gadarenes, Jairus, and the woman with the issue of blood, appear towards the end, as do also the great nature-miracles of the loaves and of the storm.[1] It must next be observed that several incidents are shown by their character or their surroundings to belong either to the beginning or to the close. The former is plainly the case with the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, and with the concourse of people occasioned by a relatively small work; also with the healing of the leper, even with that of the centurion's servant. The latter, on the other hand, is the case with those works which

[1] Luke viii. 22 and Mark iv. 35 place the storm, the Gadarenes, Jairus, and the woman with the issue of blood, late; Matt. viii. 23, 28, ix. 18, early. But in this instance it is easy to show the superiority of the former representation (see remarks on the individual incidents); and at least Jairus and the woman with issue of blood stand relatively late even in Matthew. As to the storm, the case is decided not merely by Luke viii. 22, Mark iv. 35, but yet more by the relation of duplicate of Matt. viii. 24 to the later storm in Matt. xiv. 24, Mark vi. 45, and the parallel passages to the later nature-miracle of the loaves.

are accompanied by severe struggles and retreats, as well as by Messianic confessions; as, e.g., a series of narratives of healing persons possessed, the narratives of the man with the withered hand, of the dead raised to life and of the woman with the issue of blood, and finally of the blind men of Jericho.[1] On the whole, we must not fail to see that the later Galilean period was crowned with the greatest works: at that period was the attention of the court of Tiberias first attracted to Jesus, then did Jesus declare the presence of the kingdom of God, basing his declaration on his casting out of devils, and then did he utter his woes over the Galilean cities because of their unbelief in the face of the many and striking mighty works done in their midst.[2] On all these grounds, we shall place the greatest works, including the mythical nature-miracles, at the end of the Galilean ministry. The reference of the healing of the possessed absolutely to this point, is not prevented by the case of the demoniac of Capernaum, introduced as an opening miracle by the second and third Gospels; but it is perhaps prevented by the general intimation of all the Gospels that Jesus wrought such works from the beginning, and by the general probability that he specially acquired his renown and his mysterious importance in this at that time so important a department.[3]

Which works were not among the first of the works of Jesus can be more certainly determined than the so much more desirable affirmative opposite. The initial works in Luke, Mark, and John—the possessed in the synagogue at Capernaum and the wine-miracle at Cana—are simply the artificial programmes of those writers, as will be further shown at the proper place, in opposition moreover to those critics who would rather give up

[1] Comp. the dumb demoniac, Matt. xii.; Gadarenes, viii.; man with withered hand, xii.; the ruler's daughter restored to life, and the woman with the issue of blood (in connection with the late controversy on fasting), ix.; the men of Jericho, xx. Detailed confirmation further on.

[2] Matt. xiv. 1 sqq., xii. 23, 28, xi. 21.

[3] Matt. iv. 24, viii. 16; Luke iv. 33, 41, vi. 18; Mark i. 23, 34, iii. 11; Acts x. 38.

John, than Luke or Mark.[1] Nor can we be satisfied with Matthew, though he does not place the greatest masterpieces at the very beginning. Instead of that, he gives, quite at the Galilean beginning, and before the Sermon on the Mount, which itself stands unhistorically early, a general mention of all kinds of diseases which were healed by Jesus, and of the mass of sick persons, nay, of whole districts, that thronged towards him: in this we see plainly that early and late events are promiscuously mingled, an opinion which is confirmed by the much simpler beginnings that are described after the Sermon on the Mount.[2]

Here, then, must everything be deceptive, if we cannot seek and discover, in the very Capernaum incidents which the three Synoptics have introduced, without pretension and without adornment, the actual beginnings, nay, a description from older and truer sources than their own new renderings of history. And indeed we may here first of all follow Luke and Mark, in which, if we reject the sensational story of the evil spirit, the ministry of Jesus opens modestly and unpretendingly with the healing of Peter's mother-in-law; and we may also appeal to the fact that in Matthew, as in Mark, this entering into Peter's house admirably connects itself with the acquaintance with Peter made just before on the shore of the Galilean lake, and sealed by the call to Peter to become a disciple. On the other hand, the two previous healings in Matthew—that of the leper and that of the centurion's lad—owe their early position chiefly to their importance with regard to Jesus' attitude towards Judaism and heathenism, and at any rate presuppose a call by Jesus, which, on account of the falling away of the Sermon on the Mount, has still to be spoken.[4] We have, doubtless, just here, one of the

[1] The want of individuality of the demoniac of Luke and Mark, even Weisse has recognized (I. p. 477).

[2] Matt. iv. 23 sqq., viii. 1 sqq., 14 sqq.

[3] Luke iv. 38; Mark i. 29; Matt. viii. 14.

[4] Also on account of an assumed real connection with his unhistorically early Sermon on the Mount, Matthew placed the centurion in the first rank. Comp. Luke vii. 2. It may indeed be found that this incident in Luke stands in connection with

most instructive examples illustrative of the dependence and freedom of our three Gospels with regard to their less elaborated and more trustworthy written sources.[1]

When Jesus returned—whether on a week-day or a Sunday, we know not—to Capernaum, with the first-fruits of his circle of disciples, gathered by the Galilean lake, he allowed Simon (Peter) to introduce him to his household.[2] Simon was married, and, together with his mother-in-law, dwelt in his own house. He found the old woman lying in bed, ill of a fever. In the damp marshy atmosphere of the shore of the lake, fevers are wont to linger even at the present day.[3] The Jewish historian and Galilean general, Josephus, was treated by the physicians at Capernaum for a wound-fever.[4] Jesus, as soon as he saw or heard of the evil, without being actually asked (as the later writers say he was, they antedating the belief of the people and of Jesus himself in his power to heal), went to the bed of the sick woman and gave her a sympathetic greeting by touching her hand.[5] And lo, the fever yielded, and the woman, happy and grateful, could not refrain from rising and personally serving her guests, or, as Matthew finely says, her guest, at the midday meal.[6] This firstling of the miracles carries with it a force of conviction possessed by no other. The mitigation of a fever by an approach which probably was not intended to have any such result, the restoration to clear and joyous consciousness by the return of the son-in-law, still more by the accompanying pre-

Luke vii. 22; but while this latter passage affords the motive for introducing here the whole narrative of the young man of Nain, in the incident of the centurion, which stood connected with the Sermon on the Mount, the sickness was simply converted into a near approach to death.

[1] Hilgenfeld also has perceived this, *Zeitschrift*, 1867, pp. 370 sqq. Yet he insists upon retaining the healing of the leper as the first miracle.

[2] Luke and Mark give the Sabbath, on account of Jesus' commencement of his ministry in the synagogue.

[3] See above, II. p. 362.

[4] Josephus, *Vita*, 72.

[5] Luke iv. 38 (Jesus is asked); Mark i. 30 (Jesus is told); Matt. viii. 14, 15 (simply the fact of Jesus' going into the house).

[6] Comp. 1 Kings xx. 16. Josephus, *Vita*, 54: the midday meal (*ἄριστον* = *δεῖπνον μεσημβρ.*) on the Sabbath at the sixth hour, *i. e.* twelve o'clock at noon.

sence of the revered guest, by his mild and elevating greeting, and the soothing sympathy shown in his touching her hand with his,—this healing power of a new beneficent stream of feeling and thought, and of a powerful stimulus of volition, in which the womanly sentiment of honour with regard to the due entertainment of her guests had not the last place, appears so free from mystery, so humanly natural, that we could believe in the repetition of this fact even in our own times; at least, all of us, in both our healthy and our sick times, in every kind of gloomy and depressed condition, have abundantly experienced the invigorating influence of a friendly word, of cheerful society, even of a single pressure of the hand—in truth, the influence of individual upon individual, of force upon force. This miracle, therefore, may be considered intelligible and rational, as we say to those who are wont to be too quickly offended at what is rational; and Jesus' engagement in works of healing seems here to be quite an involuntary occurrence, which drew after it and introduced further consequences, and a conscious and intentional course of action. Volkmar has singularly failed to appreciate this incident, regarding the mother-in-law as only a symbol, the first deaconess of the new covenant.[1]

It is true that already in this incident the growth of myth cannot be altogether overlooked. In Luke and Mark, everything is magnified, everything is more intentional, more mysterious. Jesus is accompanied by several others; according to Mark, by the four first-chosen Apostles, among whom is Andrew, joint-owner of the house. By this escort his help is entreated against the sickness, the strong fever as Luke says. According to Luke, he stands with an air of mystery at the head of the bed, and rebukes the fever, i. e. he speaks as if he were scolding and threatening an enemy. According to Mark, he not merely touches the sick woman, he firmly grasps her hand and lifts

[1] Paulus (p. 222) has already said that fever is often healed by touching, by strong impression on the nerves. Venturini (p. 100) writes foolishly. Schenkel (p. 68) is correct. Volkmar, pp. 98—100.

her up in such a way that without any further ceremony she walks and waits upon the guests. The other sources leave us to suppose that she rose up of herself; Luke, however, like Mark, representing this as taking place immediately.[1]

Though this incident may have occurred in a simple and natural way, the people of the town, of course genuine Galileans, fixed their attention solely upon the result, and held it to be miraculous.[2] The news rapidly spread among the people, and towards evening—between three and six p.m.—a crowd of people had collected—according to Mark the whole town—bringing their sick to the miraculous physician.[3] The Evangelists narrate—it is true in that general way which makes verification now impossible—that Jesus healed many sick, especially the possessed, whose appeals, silenced by Jesus—as already in the morning—Luke and Mark describe more definitely; and that he then fled, as it were, from the crowd, at once according to Matthew, on the next morning according to Luke, and in the gloom of the early morning, leaving behind even his disciples, according to Mark. In this fundamentally consistent report, we have doubtless an historical reminiscence. It is of great interest, partly because it gives a life-like picture of the rise of the popular excitement produced by the first works of Jesus, and

[1] Comp. Josephus on the exorcisers of the devil: *ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς στὰς*, *Ant.* 6, 8, 2. Ille, qui mussitat, det oleum super caput et mussitet, Lightfoot, p. 304.

[2] See above, p. 169, note.

[3] Matthew, in the evening (*ὀψία*, comp. Wilke-Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, and below, the history of the passion), here not the late evening, but from three o'clock onwards, for the people did not come in the night, and Jesus did not either heal for hours in the night, or indeed go on board ship. Luke has the time of sunset (about seven o'clock); Mark, fusing Matthew and Luke, the evening after sunset, *i. e.* the beginning of the night (which came on about eight o'clock even in summer, comp. Winer, *Tag*); but both narrations are improbable, and introduced only in order to establish Jesus' remaining in the place through the night and his mysterious departure very early in the morning. Mark has been preferred (Holtzmann) because he shows the Sabbath to have been respected by the waiting of the people until the evening, the Sabbath ending about six o'clock; but it is evident that Mark does not think of the Sabbath, and the people are nowhere in the Gospels represented as paying so much respect to that day. Comp. the coming together of the people on the Sabbath in Josephus, *Vita*, 54. Objections, Schleiermacher, p. 188.

partly also—as most modern critics perceive—because it shows the strong repugnance felt by Jesus with regard to a course of action not essentially belonging to his ministry, and which was the starting-point of an impure, materialistic, and at the same time compromising agitation. We can verify nothing connected with Jesus' sudden departure: the Gospels contradict each other, and the lake-voyage mentioned by Matthew into the country of Gadara is as improbable as the journey given by Luke and Mark, a journey postponed until the morning of the next day on account of the Sabbath.[1] Indeed, this latter journey has several peculiarities: Jesus' secret and hasty departure, the hastening of the people, or of the disciples, after him to bring him back, and the declaration of Jesus as to his call to preach in other towns also.[2] This declaration would have greater importance if it contained a confession of his that his vocation was, as to its principle and purpose, to preach and not to heal; but the declaration only lays stress upon the duty of restlessly pushing his missionary work farther and farther; and this whole representation of the restless missionary who hurriedly rushes away the moment after he has begun in Capernaum, and even flees secretly from the disciples he has but just chosen, as Elijah at last sought to escape from Elisha, seems to be an altogether forced description of the author's, especially of Mark's.[3] Moreover, we see in a moment that the miraculous healing of the leper narrated immediately afterwards could hardly have fallen in this period of commencement.

The works of healing which stand next belong to a somewhat later time. In every case they assume that Jesus has acquired considerable renown. But they also exhibit much greater difficulties. The series is opened by the restoration to health of the leper. For it cannot be overlooked that all the older Gospels

[1] It is impossible that Jesus could have gone to Gadara at the very beginning. See above, p. 198, note.

[2] Luke iv. 42; Mark i. 35.

[3] Comp., with Mark i. 35 sq., the passage in 2 Kings ii. 1 sqq.

place this incident at or near the head of the series: in Matthew it stands first of all, in Luke and Mark it stands next to the healing in Peter's house. The more exact notes of time and place are certainly unreliable; in Matthew, the healing precedes Jesus' entry into Capernaum; in the others it immediately follows his departure thence: but the faith of the sick person shows that the activity of Jesus was then already as many weeks old as the Evangelists say it was hours or days. We may assume, with great probability, that other than mere historical reasons induced the writers to place this incident so prominently in the foreground—indeed, in Matthew in the very front: it was intended to show at one and the same time Jesus' strict conformity to the Law, and in picture his purifying, redemptive influence upon Israel.[1]

In the neighbourhood of Capernaum, therefore, if we are to believe Matthew and Mark, or, according to Luke's more probable report—a report incidentally supported even by Mark—in a town, perhaps in the town of Capernaum itself, and in the residence of Jesus, there came to him a leper, i. e. a man suffering from that frightful disease of blood-decomposition (*Blutzersetzungskrankheit*), which is favoured by hot and damp air, by want of cleanliness, and by a poor diet, especially by a diet poor in fatty and oily foods, and is still the heritage chiefly of the East, where, from the days of antiquity, sometimes Egypt, and sometimes Palestine—the latter with the most malicious slanders against the history of the Jews and the Mosaic Exodus—has been regarded as its breeding-place.[2] Among the Jews themselves, the leper was regarded as "the smitten of God," and his suffering as a divine chastisement, which a man could not

[1] Matt. viii. 1—4; Luke v. 12—16; Mark i. 40—45.

[2] Mark also favours the neighbourhood of Capernaum (i. 40, comp. with vers. 35 sqq. and ii. 1). Even the house in Mark can have reference to Capernaum (comp. ἐξέβαλε, ἐξελθών), which is denied quite arbitrarily (as Hilgenfeld also sees) by Volkmar. Luke mentions a town indefinitely. On leprosy, see Winer's and Schenkel's *Real-Wörterb.* On the slanders, see only Josephus, *Cont. Ap.* 1, 31, and Tacitus, where he repeats the Greek reports, *Hist.* 5, 3: Orta per Ægyptum tabe, quæ corpora fœdaret.

wish to see inflicted on any but his deadly enemy.[1] These four, says the Talmud, are to be looked upon as dead,—the blind, the leper, the poor, and the childless.[2] As a rule, the disease begins with reddish spots on the skin, out of which swellings, knobs, and ulcers, gradually develop and spread over the whole body. One organ after another is seized, the organs of respiration, of speech, of hearing, of sight; and the end, often after many years, is consumption and dropsy. With the most minute precision, the Mosaic legislation provided for the observation and treatment of these unclean persons; as a preventive of contagion—which is generally denied by modern science—and also on account of the disgusting character of the disease, it was ordained that a leper should rend his clothes, keep his head bare, have a covering over his mouth, cry "Unclean, unclean!" and, "as one dead" among the living, reside in a separate dwelling outside of the camp or the town.[3] These sanitary regulations were naturally very unwelcome; the sick were, indeed, avoided as something evil, from motives both of prudence and of religion, but they were not shut up. Insufficiently restrained in unwalled localities, they forced themselves into the very towns, though they thus made themselves liable to a punishment of forty stripes; and they were suffered even in the synagogues, the worshippers protecting themselves by a partition and by the ordinance that the sick should be the first to enter and the last to leave.[4]

Thus is explained the fact that Jesus met with such unfortunate sufferers, and that they are frequently mentioned in the

[1] Greek *lepra*, from *lepros* = rough, scabby; Hebrew *zaruah*, the smitten; in Arabic, the epileptic; possibly (see Gesenius) from *gara* = to scratch, to be scabby. Deadly enemy, 2 Sam. iii. 29; 2 Kings v. 27. Regarded by the Persians also as a divine chastisement, Herod. I. 138.

[2] Lightfoot, p. 518.

[3] Lev. xiii. 45 sq.; 2 Kings vii. 3, xv. 5; Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 11, 3; *Cont. Ap.* 1, 31. Comp. Talmud: ex urbe, Lightfoot, p. 551.

[4] 2 Kings vii. 3. Lightfoot, *l. c.* The reader should call to mind the zeal for the *puritas israelitica*, Lightfoot, p. 282.

narratives and utterances in the Gospels.[1] The district of Gennesaret, with its damp atmosphere and the fish-diet of the inhabitants, might be specially favourable to the disease. The leper approached Jesus when the latter was alone in the house or on the country-road, and when his crowded escort of people—which Matthew too readily introduces into the return home after the Sermon on the Mount—must at any rate be supposed to be absent,—the leper approached and fell prostrate and besought him, "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean!" He believingly brought his desire into the presence of Jesus' ability. And Jesus stretched out his hand affirmatively, and, touching him, said, "I will, be thou clean!" and the leper was immediately cleansed. But Jesus strictly commanded him, according to Mark with excited breathing, "See thou tell no man, but go thy way and show thyself to the priest, and offer the sacrifice which Moses has commanded, for a testimony unto them."[2] The Gospel naturally tells us nothing further about the removal of the disease, about the visit to the priest, and about the elaborate and costly sacrifice; but Luke says that the fame of Jesus grew more and more, while Mark—ascribing to the healed man a disobedience which he repeats in the case of the deaf mute—represents the leper as making known the cure on all sides, notwithstanding the menacing command, and therefore also as neglecting the command to go at once to Jerusalem.[3]

If we unhesitatingly accept this report as it is and as it is usually understood, discovering its support in the strong faith of

[1] Luke iv. 27, xvii. 12.

[2] Volkmar, boasting of his having advanced beyond Dr. Baur, whose attitude towards Mark was simply that of wonder, in a fabulous manner makes the menacing and the reluctance of Jesus refer to the suppliant's deifying act of falling upon his knees, though this does not come under consideration at all. See only Mark v. 22, vii. 25, x. 17. For a testimony, comp. the characteristically genuine passages in Matt. x. 18, xxiv. 14.

[3] Lev. xiv. 1 sqq. Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 11, 3: ποικίλαι θυσίαι. Comp. Lightfoot, p. 300.

the sufferer and the great compassion of Jesus,—a compassion which Mark explicitly attests, and which without that attestation finds an emphatic expression in the fact of intercourse with a sufferer from such a horrible disease and in a contact avoided even by the priests,—we nevertheless find ourselves at once in the midst of great difficulties. To believe that a malady so deeply rooted in the body, in the flesh and blood to the very marrow, a malady to which melancholy was only a secondary accompaniment, could be removed by a mere though extraordinarily loving and sympathetic address, accompanied by contact, is, as Strauss and Schenkel insist, a much more daring assumption, and one much less in accordance with experience, than that of the cure of fever patients or paralytics or even the possessed, in whose cases a thoroughly efficacious act of volition is much more conceivable.[1] However well-established the fact may be that this disease, as is reported by both the Old Testament and Josephus, was often arrested by a copious discharge of the matter which produced it, and however certain it may be that the experienced eye of the priest was able to recognize the signs of the removal of the disease whilst the body was still externally covered with its marks, all this goes but a little way to prove that we have to do with such a case, or that, even if recovery was discernible, such a sudden disappearance of the symptoms should have taken place as the experienced priests never witnessed.[2] It seems, therefore, that either we must retain the fact without being able to find a sufficient explanation, or we must conclude that the report has been more or less corrupted.

The mythical explanation, going to the extreme of denying the whole, finds here a strong support. This Gospel narrative is certainly much less open to attack than other narratives, as, e. g., the far later account in Luke of ten lepers healed by Jesus on

[1] The Egyptian elephantiasis is accompanied by dejection and extreme melancholy, noticed in Winer's *Real-W.*

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 11, 3 : If any had been freed by God from his disease through earnest prayer, and had regained a healthy complexion, &c. *Cont. Ap.* 1, 31 : If the disease be healed, and the natural constitution be recovered, &c.

his journey to Jerusalem.[1] Yet it is observable that the Gospels have already heightened the colour of the narrative, for Luke makes out of the "leper" "a man full of leprosy," and Matthew introduces crowds of people, and Luke and Mark exaggerate the spreading abroad of the news of the case, a circumstance not reported at all by Matthew.[2] It is yet more conceivable that the Gospel purposely placed a leper at the commencement as a picture of the sinfully impure Jewish people.[3] And here the Old Testament comes in. It is true there is no Isaian prophecy concerning lepers, as there is concerning the blind and the deaf, which could have been condensed into a material fact. Yet the passage from Isaiah is introduced with this very addition; and this may have been done with a reference to the picture in the first chapter of Isaiah, of the sinful nation which is sick from the sole of the foot to the head, or to the description, in the elsewhere quoted thirty-fifth chapter, of the "holy way" in which no one who bears a stain shall go. Moreover, the leprous Job hovered before the eyes of the writers of the New Testament, by whom he is transformed into the figure of the much-enduring and at last delivered Lazarus.[4] Finally, leprosy and the healing of leprosy appear in connection with Moses from the time when he was first called, as well as in con-

[1] Luke xvii. 12, evidently in imitation partly of the first case of leprosy healed, and partly of the case of Naaman. The very district in which the healing is said to have occurred (on the way to Jericho-Gilgal), reminds one of the latter case. The ten lepers may represent the ten tribes. Volkmar, on the incident of the leper (p. 119), says that it may be left undecided whether a fact lies at the basis of the narrative or not—everything is on his side. Impure heathenism and Judaism are both represented: to think only, as was formerly done, of heathenism, was prevented by the facts of the case. Of course, we cannot here think of heathenism at all.

[2] The colossal exaggeration in Mark i. 45 appears to the allegorist Volkmar as only a delineation of the progress of Christianity in the world. On the other hand, he finds fault with Matthew. To the old ridicule (comp. Ritschl) of Matt. viii. 1, 4 (against which see Luke viii. 56, Mark v. 43), he adds the expression of Matthew's, ἐκαθ. ἡ λέπρα, as if it were not allowable in the language of the people to say, *e.g.*, the fever was healed. Matt. iv. 23. Josephus, *Cont. Ap.* 1, 31.

[3] Hence in Matthew it is the first detailed narrative of healing (in Mark the third, in Luke the fourth).

[4] Is. lxi. 1, comp. Matt. xi. 5; Is. i. 6, xxxv. 8; Job ii. 5 sqq.

neection with the miracle-working prophets of the ninth pre-Christian century, particularly Elisha, whose typical resemblance to Jesus the Gospels have otherwise recognized in word and incident, even to the healing of Naaman the Syrian.[1] It is interesting also to find that the Talmud represents the Messiah as moving in the midst of the sick and the leprous, nay, as even himself suffering from leprosy.[2]

At the same time, it is impossible to overlook altogether the striking marks of genuineness in the report, seen in Jesus' sending a sick man to the priests—an act otherwise not represented, yet so intelligible as occurring at the commencement of the ministry of Jesus—with the view of making a recognition of the priesthood and Jerusalem; and seen also in the emphatic and unusually impassioned prohibition to make the circumstance publicly known, a prohibition which stands alone in the immediately surrounding cases of healing. We may thus arrive at the conclusion that the thrice-given report is not to be put aside as absolutely unhistorical. But if a positive miracle cannot here be admitted, still less can a modified degree of the miraculous. For if we supposed that Jesus' word of healing or of consolation was at once distinctly operative, or, if not at once, that it gradually brought about the removal of the ulcers; or if we thought it preferable to ascribe less of the result to the action of Jesus, and to believe in a process of healing already begun, and in a supplementary beneficial influence of some kind exercised by Jesus, yet it is to be hoped without any pretension to peculiar merit; we should, in either case, come into collision not only with the Evangelists' conception of the miraculous character of the cure, which in the end would have to be given up, but also with the most substantial part of the whole narration, with the emphatic command to go to Jerusalem, a command which supplies the final and fundamental element in the healing process, and which proves the cure or after-cure to be complete. A per-

[1] Exod. iv. 6; Numb. xii. 10; 2 Kings v. 1 sqq.; Luke iv. 27.

[2] Comp. above, p. 180, note 1. Oehler, *Messias*, p. 438.

fectly non-miraculous explanation, making this case an actual pendant to that of the healing of Peter's mother, is more probable. The "cleansing" which the sick man asked for may originally have been nothing more than that declaration of cleanness which, in the very same words, was reserved to the priests by the legislation of Moses.[1] Luke and Mark are the first to lose altogether this sense of cleansing. In order to understand the wish of the sick man and the behaviour of Jesus, it must be remembered that the legal mode of obtaining a declaration of cleanness for a sick Galilean who would have to travel to Jerusalem, was troublesome and expensive enough; and that even the Scribes had long since undermined the Levitical ordinance, by placing themselves as men learned in the Law in successful competition with the priests, and by themselves uttering the decisive sentence, while, in order to avoid a direct disobedience to Moses, they left to the priests the empty and formal executive: The man is clean, and the priest shall declare him clean! Since Jesus stood before the public as a Scribe, the convalescent might in fact, with Jesus' sentence in his hand, dispense with going to Jerusalem; and Jesus, on his part, could himself, without being either physician or priest, certify, according to the practice of others, a visible recovery; nay, he could, to the consolation of the man and in confirmation of the end of his terrible ban, seal his recovery by a touch which until then every one had shrunk from giving, but still reserving the formal sentence to the legally authorized priest.[2] And it is this

[1] Paulus has expounded it in both ways. *L. J.* p. 277, and *Exeget. Hdb.* I. p. 708, decide and explain that this leprosy is no longer contagious (on the other hand, Strauss says, what is right in itself, that the Gospels refer to something greater). The former explanation in Schenkel, pp. 73, 373. On the contrary, Pressensé, p. 427. In Lev. xiii. 1 sqq. the *μιαίνειν* and *καθαρίζειν* of the priest is everywhere understood as meaning clean and unclean. Lightfoot, quite correctly (p. 306): *Pronunciabis.*

[2] The Scribes, see Vol. I. pp. 332 sq. Recovery through prayer, also in Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 11, 3. The avoidance of such a man, without "any human kindness" (*Cont. Ap.* 1, 31). *Ant.* 3, 11, 3: *μηδενὶ συνδιαιτώμενοι καὶ νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέροντες.* *Cont. Ap.* 1, 31: *καὶ τὸν ἀψάμενον αὐτῶν ἢ ὁμώροφον γενόμενον οὐ καθαρὸν ἡγεῖται.*

very reservation which affords the strongest evidence on behalf of this explanation. With regard to the curing of a leper, Jesus need not be either so violently agitated, or so anxious to reveal his attitude towards the priesthood, or, finally, so harsh to the healed man himself; but with regard to a declaration of cure, which was not legally in his own hands, and with reference to a convalescent who might avoid the legal course, it was necessary for him to forbid the spreading abroad of the news until after the journey to Jerusalem, and to obtain a full recognition of his really legal proceeding from the priests, nay, from Jerusalem. Such a course of action on the part of Jesus might, without any miraculous healing, excite attention and admiration, on account of his heroic love of his fellow-men and his determined conduct; but the materializing mythical spirit, insatiable and prone to misconception, was only too near at hand to add this case to the many real works of healing, and to convert the declaration of cleanness into an actual cleansing.[1]

The narrative of the infirm man (the paralytic), who by the word of Jesus was enabled himself to carry home his bed, standing in the Gospels after the above-mentioned incidents and at the first return to Capernaum, occupies an altogether appropriate position so far as it synchronizes with the beginning of the movement among the masses, and of the enthusiastic efforts of the sick and their friends.[2] Matthew relates the case most simply. An infirm man, lying upon a kind of bier, was brought to Jesus after his landing, and as he was entering the town on his way home.[3] In view of the faith of the sick man and of his compassionate bearers, Jesus at once said to him: "Be of good

[1] If it be said that the strict command was directed against the spreading abroad of the news, the answer is, No, it had special reference (ἀλλά) to the legally primary visit to the priests. The spreading abroad of the news is not, in itself, once forbidden; but the priests are to have an evidence of Jesus' recognition of the Law (as Chrysostom rightly says, in contradistinction to most moderns).

[2] Matt. ix. 1—8; Luke v. 17—26; Mark ii. 1—12.

[3] Comp. with Matt. ix. 1, 2, the passage xiv. 34. The house of Jesus is not here—as in Luke and Mark—to be thought of.

cheer, my son; thy sins are forgiven." He looked upon his illness as a result of sin, and he found that his conscience pressed yet more heavily upon him than his body.[1] But a second utterance followed the first. Several Scribes found in the first utterance blasphemy against God, because it contained an infringement of the prerogative of God, although the old prophets also had thus infringed upon the Divine prerogative.[2] His perception of their thought was quickly followed by the winged proof and refutation which was logic and action in one: "Which is easier to say, Thy sins are forgiven? or, Stand up and walk?" As if he would say, They are equally difficult, equally easy, impossible to you and possible to me. "But that ye may know that the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins"—from this premiss he passed to the conclusion of action, and, turning towards the sick man, said, "Stand up, take up thy bed, and go thy way to thy house! He did so, and the people gave praise to God who had given such power to men."[3]

This grand deed required no exaggeration, but it was natural that it should find it. Luke and Mark busy themselves with a rich and highly coloured description of it. In their forced manner they depict, immediately after the arrival of Jesus at his house, a large concourse of people, the great impediments which faith had to break through, the miraculous insight into the minds of the opponents, the literal fulfilment of Jesus' word of command. Luke in particular describes the concourse of

[1] Dixit R. Chija fil. Abba: Nullus ægrotus a morbo suo sanatur, donec ipsi omnia peccata remissa sunt. Nedar. in Schöttgen, I. p. 93. Paulus, I. p. 498. Strauss, II. p. 84. Comp. Lev. xxvi. 16; Deut. xxviii. 21; Matt. xii. 45; Luke xiii. 2, 11; John v. 14, ix. 1 sqq. Since Jesus did not so act in other cases, the remarkable coincidence of the passage from the Talmud does not afford any explanatory parallel.

[2] The prerogative of Divine forgiveness, Exod. xxxiv. 7; Ps. xxxii. 2, 5; Jer. xxxi. 34, xxxiii. 8, &c. Ignominious death of the "blasphemer," Lev. xxiv. 16; Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 8, 6. Yet the prophets pronounced forgiveness in the name of God, comp. Is. xl. 2; Nathan, 2 Sam. xii. 13. The atonement of the high-priest by means of sacrifice was a somewhat different thing, Lev. xvi.

[3] Equally difficult, thus correctly Fr. Meyer, De Wette; the utterance easier than the work, Bleek, Volkmar. The argument of the latter against Matt ix. 6 is worthless (p. 139).

people; Pharisees and Scribes must be present out of every village of Galilee and Judæa, and also out of Jerusalem, in order to add their testimony to that of the people of the place. But the locality given is inconsistent with the descriptions of both authors. According to the sources, Jesus is at home and teaches the people, whom he could not teach *en masse* in his house. Yet the house cannot be dispensed with,—it is needed to provide impediments through which faith may break. The way to the house is beset far and wide; the bearers, the four men of Mark, try every means of forcing their way to the lower room in which Jesus is teaching, but in vain.[1] They then ascend with their sick friend from the street or from the court, by means of the side-stairs or of a ladder, to the flat roof, and lower the sick man by ropes through the opening in the roof or over the edge of the tiling—no, says Mark, through the tiling, broken open as in war—to the feet of Jesus.[2] These alterations, affecting only the framework of the older narration, are mere trivialities when compared with the transformation which John requires the incident to undergo. In the fourth Gospel, the illness has lasted an average life-time, thirty-eight years; the cure is transferred to Jerusalem at a feast time, on a Sabbath, by the healing spring Bethzatha (Bethesda); and of the faith which achieves its

[1] The upper chamber (Meyer) is not suggested by anything in the narrative, notwithstanding Acts xx. 8; Lightfoot, p. 438.

[2] Flat roof, Matt. x. 27, xxiv. 17. Jerome, upon Ps. cii. 7 (ad Sun. et Fretel.): Habent plana tecta, quæ transversis trabibus sustentantur. Two means of ingress, by the door and by the roof, *derech gagin*, Lightfoot, p. 438. The latter was often only by a ladder, ascendere extra domum per scalam appositam, *ib.* Luke's expression, *διὰ κεράμων* (tiled roof), exactly corresponds to *derech gagin*, via per tectum (comp. only *διὰ θυρίδος, τείχους*, 2 Cor. xi. 33), where the reference is either—as Lightfoot, Strauss, and Grimm suppose—to the above-mentioned way into the interior of the house through the roof, or to the external breastwork, the cornice of the house (comp. Winer, *Haus*, and *Dach*), over which the sick man would be let down to the door of the house. Of a removal of the tiles or bricks, of a violent entrance into a strange house (as in war, Josephus, *Ant.* 14, 15, 12; 13, 5, 3), Luke evidently is not thinking; this was left for Mark, whose colossal misunderstanding—which oppresses even Olshausen—Volkmar has the credit of defending as the original (with removal of tiles and laths). Even Strauss—like Woolston—ridicules Mark (danger of slaying those who stood below), p. 434. Comp. Wilke-Grimm, *κέραμος*.

object in spite of all hindrances, nothing remains but the vexation of one who was deprived of his healing bath by swifter feet.[1] There remains, however, similarity enough to attest the identity of the incident, and it is not worth the trouble to answer those who are so fortunate as to discover two miracles; for the illness, the culpability, the helplessness, the call of Jesus, the controversy with the Pharisees on the subject of blasphemy, as well as the period—in the early part of Jesus' ministry—are the same.[2] Freedom of, and dependence upon, the Synoptics, are scarcely anywhere more strikingly noticeable than in this Johannine narrative of healing; and the same may be said of that ideal tendency which, in the restoration of a man who had been infirm for thirty-eight years, offers us the undisguised representation of the eternal and vivifying activity of God, here exercised immediately on behalf of Israel, who, through decades, through centuries, and notwithstanding all their national festivals and jubilees of deliverance, still languished thirty-eight or forty years in the wilderness, until the deliverer came in the Logos of God.[3]

The only question to be considered here is, as to which is the first account. We get no aid from the supposition of a fictitious

[1] John v. 1 sqq. Instead of Bethesda (*Betchesda*, house of grace), must now (especially since the discovery of the Cod. Sin., confirmed by Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, comp. Tisch.) be read Bethzatha (Sin., It.), or Bezatha (Eus., Cod. Reg., It.), or Bezetha, *Beta chadata*, comp. the name of the new part of Jerusalem, Bezetha (= καινὴ π.), Josephus, *B. J.* 5, 4, 2; 5, 5, 8 (2, 19, 4; 2, 15, 5); therefore *new house*, or exactly *the pool of the new town*. It is an interesting fact that tradition has located the Bethesda pool in the neighbourhood of this new town itself (*B. J.* 5, 5, 8), in the N. (E.) of the temple (Birket Israil), probably taking a trench of the fortress Antonia for a pool lined with masonry, and the Stephen's Gate, a little to the N.E., for the old Sheep Gate, Neh. iii. 1. Robinson supposes the pool to be more to the S., where now the copious Well of the Virgin flows intermittently. Tobler, *Denkbl.* pp. 35 sqq., gives it up. Comp. Robinson, II. pp. 136 sqq.; Winer; Herzog; Furrer, *Bibl. G.* p. 21, seeks Bethesda to the W. of Haram. Grätz, p. 471, gives a false derivation of Bethesda, from *bezaim* (Bux. p. 339), marsh.

[2] Comp. Strauss, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Scholten, and also Weisse. On the other hand, naturally, Meyer and even De Wette.

[3] The Purim festival, which is probably assumed, was a national deliverance festival. Esther ix. 29 sqq.; Josephus, *Ant.* 11, 6, 13. Thirty-eight years in the wilderness, Deut. ii. 14.

fulfilment of the Old Testament. This supposition is more applicable to the cases of the lame men in the beginning and middle of the Acts of the Apostles.[1] The guarantee of originality lies in the simplicity of the nevertheless highly coloured account, in the characteristic mode of procedure in effecting the cure, and in the genuine Pharisaic controversy. A crudely rationalistic explanation is, however, not admissible. Even the infirm man of John's Gospel was no lazy fellow, whom Jesus unmasked and sent home with his bed.[2] And the allegorical art which sees in the infirm man only a picture of heathenism, and in the murmuring Pharisees a picture of Judaism, is more than arbitrary.[3] On the other hand, we can understand that a paralysis which was not of long standing—so far as we can gather from the narrative—and which was not one of the worst of cases, for it does not appear to have affected the mind of the patient, and the circumstances occasioning which were temporary, would have really yielded to such an uncommonly strong excitement as was produced by the very presence of the sick man, and still further strengthened by the address of Jesus, the longed-for consolation for the sinner, the word of power.[4] Incapacity to move oneself is capable of being cured; and among the curative means, besides time, and the restorative energy of the organism, and baths, are the emotions of joy and terror, and perhaps most of all the powerful stimulation of the dormant power of volition, to which even the crutches hung as spoils, in honour of the holy Virgin, in monastic cloisters bear testimony. He who recognizes the efficacy of physical means, must deliberate

[1] Acts iii. 1; in verse 8 and xiv. 10 there is a direct imitation of Is. xxxv. 6 (ἁλεῖται ὡς ἔλαφος χωλός). The former patient was more than forty years old, Acts iv. 22. Volkmar's criticism overlooks the fact that this narrative is of a later type than that of Matthew.

[2] Thus Woolston, Ammon, Paulus; comp. Lücke, Lange, Weisse (*Evangelienfr.* p. 268, where moral imbecility, originally mentioned in the form of a parable, is assumed).

[3] Volkmar, p. 133. Whence comes the heathen?

[4] According to Paulus (*Exeg. Hdb.* I. p. 494), Jesus delivers the sick man from the delusion of a special divine punishment.

before he denies that of psychical; man is first spirit, and then matter.[1]

On the occasion of the healing of the centurion's lad at Capernaum, Jesus already stands on the boundary of his first ministry of healing; he sums up the consequences, less to the bodies than to the souls of the people, and he finds himself justified in deducing a final judgment.[2] Luke is right in so far as he places this incident a little later than Matthew, and a little later than the healing of the infirm man; yet, in this respect, Matthew agrees with Luke, since he places the incident immediately after his antedated Sermon on the Mount. There is here also a paralytic or an arthritic patient, at least according to Matthew; though, on the other hand, Luke, preparing the ready answer of the worker of miracles to the doubting Baptist, troubles himself less with the kind of disease than with the nearness of the death which was vanquished by the raiser of the dead. A centurion of the garrison at Capernaum, perhaps the commanding officer of the troops stationed there, a man therefore in the service of the tetrarch Antipas, and, as in the course of the narrative he is shown to be not a Jew by birth, a Gentile or a Samaritan, such as the Herods were wont to have in the army, came to Jesus in the streets of the town and besought him on behalf of his son who was racked with pain at home.[3] Jesus promised to go; the man's humility and faith deprecated Jesus' going. "I am not

[1] See the examples in Paulus, I. pp. 508 sqq.; Padioleau, particularly pp. 159, 172. Prof. Dr. Biermer, my esteemed colleague, told me of a case in the hospital (1869), in which a girl, who had for some time been unable to stand on her feet, suddenly became able to walk when threatened with the use of the electrical machine, and was then very grateful to the person who had regained for her her power of volition. Similar instances among hypochondriacal and hysterical patients have been mentioned to me by my esteemed colleague, Prof. Dr. Cloetta.

[2] Matt. viii. 5; Luke vii. 1; John iv. 46. In Matthew, two cases of healing after the Sermon on the Mount; in Luke, one after the same sermon; in John, two miracles, one case of healing. Notice the relation between John and Matthew.

[3] According to Josephus (*Ant.* 19, 9, 1, 2), the troops of King Agrippa I. consisted principally of Samaritans and persons from Cæsarea. Silas the Jew, however, stood at their head (*ib.* 19, 7, 1), and the guard consisted of Babylonian Jewish knights (*ib.* 17, 2, 3).

worthy," he said, "that thou shouldest come under my roof; speak but a word and my boy will be healed. Though I am a man under higher authority, I can nevertheless say to my soldiers or my servants, 'Go,' 'Come,' 'Do this,' and they do it. How much more"—for this is what he meant to express in his genuinely soldier-like figure—"how much more canst thou, who art not a subaltern, say to diseases or to the spirits of the diseases as to thy servants, 'Come,' and 'Go'!"[1] In astonishment, Jesus said to those who accompanied him, "Not once have I found so great faith in Israel!" This was a noble testimony to Israel, a still nobler to the man from without. And then he said to the centurion, "Go thy way; as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee." And the boy was healed at the same hour.[2]

Luke's account is more artificial. It is true that the conversion of the son into a much-loved servant is the opposite of an exaggeration; but this difference may well be due to a misunderstanding of Matthew's text.[3] To represent, however, the servant as already dying is an exaggeration, the appropriate precursor of the raising of the dead reported to the Baptist. But doubtless the most important exaggeration is that of the faith of the centurion, which is elevated to a parallel to the faith in the narrative of the paralytic, only with a greater prominence given to that humility which already appears in Matthew's account. The centurion is prevented by his modesty from coming to Jesus himself, but sends Jewish elders as his intercessors; and as Jesus draws nigh, he sends his friends anew, declares himself unworthy that Jesus should enter his house, and asks for only a word. Jesus is astonished; and the returning messengers find

[1] Comp. Matt. iv. 24; Luke xiii. 10.

[2] Matt. viii. 11, 12, is an inappropriate addition to verse 10; comp. Luke vii. 9, xiii. 28. See also below, p. 223.

[3] The boy (*παῖς*), of Matthew may be either son or servant, but servant is *δοῦλος* in verse 9, and boy is son in xvii. 18 (also ii. 14 sqq.). Matt. viii. 9 completed the mistake of Luke. Such zeal for a servant is not probable. John also took it = son, iv. 46.

the dying servant restored to health. The general absence of originality betrays itself here at once in the double embassy; further in the overwrought humility which withdraws its own request; in the address of the centurion, which he could have spoken only in the presence of Jesus, as in Matthew's account, and not by the mouths of messengers; in the want of any answer from Jesus; and in the attestation of the result by the messengers as eye-witnesses.[1] But these exaggerations again are trifling when compared with John's account, even though John here and there remains nearer to Matthew. A courtier, that is, a servant of the tetrarch Antipas, hears at Capernaum that Jesus has arrived at Cana on his (second) journey from Judæa to Galilee. At eight o'clock in the morning he hastens towards Cana, five leagues distant, in order to fetch Jesus to his son, who is dying of fever.[2] Jesus, whom he meets with at about one o'clock, is at first harsh, contrary to his nature, but in harmony with the spirit of the Gospel: "Unless ye see signs and wonders"—thus he places him in the category of the obstinately unbelieving Jews—"ye will by no means believe!" But the father perseveres, and Jesus says, "Go thy way, thy son lives," and thus, as it were, excites in him to an appropriate and successful degree the faith of a third person. Miraculous telegram of the Lord! The father travels back to Capernaum, certainly at an almost blamably slow rate, for he does not reach home until the next day, when his servants meet him with the message, "Thy boy lives." He asks for definite particulars, and lo! he finds that the fever ceased at about one o'clock on the previous day. And then the man believes, with his whole house.[3] Undoubtedly this is the same incident as that recorded

[1] The secondary character of Luke's account also in Strauss, p. 459; Schenkel, on the contrary, prefers Luke (p. 103). A double message also in Luke viii. 41, 49.

[2] As to Cana, see the later localities.

[3] The seventh hour is, according to Jewish reckoning (from six o'clock in the morning), one o'clock in the afternoon; and according to Roman reckoning (from twelve o'clock), seven o'clock in the morning (or evening). There is a difference of opinion as to the reckoning adopted in John's Gospel (i. 39, iv. 6, xix. 14); the former is every-

in Matthew and Luke, but it is treated with excessive freedom.[1] Here also the miracle is one of the earliest, and occurs at Capernaum; here also appear a royal dependent, though a Jew instead of a Gentile, a son at the point of death, assiduous servants, an act of faith, an utterance, a cure effected at a distance. The modifications are but few, and leave the honour entirely with Jesus and not with the father: the exercise of power at a distance is magnified both with reference to space and time, an exercise of power at a distance of five leagues and yet completed with a momentaneousness that almost mocks the wilfully slow and blind father, who does not learn until the second day what had taken place on the first, but who, out of gratitude for the heightened miracle, is with his whole house converted to Christianity, a detail of which the earlier writers knew nothing.[2]

Returning to Matthew, we find that our investigation is not yet finished. There are reasons to doubt the antiquity and to object to the spirit of the passage, as well as to question the miracle itself. The incident is not given by Mark at all; and it is suspected that Matthew's Gospel did not originally possess it, because the friendly attitude of Jesus towards the Gentiles contradicts the Gospel, and especially the narrative of the Canaanitish woman; and because that very narrative of the Canaanitish woman makes that of the centurion appear to be simply its duplicate, with the addition of a tone of greater friendliness towards the Gentiles.[3] Hence Mark has only the incident of the Canaanitish woman, Luke only that of the centurion; while it was left to our existing Matthew to have both. But this objection does not say much. The two incidents have

where to be preferred; comp. the history of the passion. "Yesterday" is dated not from the Jewish, but the natural, day. It is to be remarked that in John's Gospel the Gentile of the Synoptics has become a Jew, because the Gentiles that believed immediately without signs have already been exhibited in Samaria.

[1] Storr consistently assumed three incidents; later critics differ as to whether there were two or one. Comp. Meyer on John iv. Even Ewald reckons two.

[2] The second miracle in Matthew.

[3] Comp. Strauss, Hilgenfeld, Volkmar. Hilgenfeld favours the belief that the narrative in Matthew is an addition, Volkmar that it is a duplicate.

points of resemblance, but more points upon which they differ: for the centurion was at once received, but the woman vigorously repulsed; and there is a distinct variety of humility in each of the supplicants, and the narratives refer to distinct phases of life, and give in each case characteristic words of Jesus.[1] That Luke and Mark have only the one or the other, can be well understood in the case of Luke, and is intelligible in the case of Mark; on the other side, one can understand that Matthew possessed the two already in its original form.[2] Finally, the difficulty here lies less in the similarity of the narration, than in Jesus' view of heathenism, which in our narrative he meets in a friendly, in the other in an unfriendly, spirit. But the difference is here in the matter itself: the Canaanitish woman is a Gentile, the centurion is no Gentile, but only one who came from the Gentiles but is now a member of the Jewish community. It is, indeed, striking that Matthew introduces him with just such an address to Jesus as was customary with the Jews, and without a word of confession, about which he could not possibly have been silent if the man were the opposite of a Jew. From the fact that he is afterwards distinguished from Israel as one who was born a Gentile, we cannot force the conclusion that he was still a pure Gentile. The opinion that he was a proselyte is supported not only by the fact of the extensive spread of proselytism, but also by the great interest which this conception would have for the Jewish teacher, and finally by the clear and —at least in this respect—valuable intimation of Luke's that the centurion was a proselyte of the first rank, a benefactor of the Jews, a builder of the synagogue,—a trait of history which is all

[1] Similarity in the figure of father (mother) and child (son, daughter), in the humility, in Jesus' admiration and in his answer. Far greater distance in the second.

[2] Luke has not the narrative of the Canaanitish woman (Matt. xv. 22), because it is un-Pauline; hence also Mark has skilfully altered it, although Mark's narrative is regarded as quite genuine in the *Leben Jesu*. Mark, however, has thrown out the narrative of the centurion, although that narrative would have been suitable to his book, because he has put aside the controversy about John, with the long Judaizing speeches, in which controversy the narrative of the centurion was embedded by Luke, whose arrangement Mark followed.

the more unassailable inasmuch as Capernaum had doubtless first risen to its height of prosperity and had acquired its synagogue during the last decade, in consequence of the erection of the Galilean royal residence in Tiberias.[1] On these grounds, the narrative of the centurion was already, in the work which preceded the present one, reckoned as the oldest of the first Gospel; and this opinion was supported by the air of venerable antiquity which the account possesses in contrast with that of Luke, by its historically correct position after the Sermon on the Mount, and by the fact that it cannot be broken away from Matthew's cycle of miracles without disturbing the context.[2] On the other hand, it must be admitted that the words of condemnation of the Jews, which follow the recognition of the centurion's faith, but only they, may belong to the interpolator, since they do not harmonize with the context, but interrupt it, dislocate the standpoint which Jesus then occupied, and in Luke are given in quite a different place.[3] But even if these words were retained—not, it is true, as being uttered by Jesus, but as being written by the author—they would not be altogether unintelligible: the author, who finished his history with the breach between Jesus and his nation, could, as well as Luke in his Nazara sermon, ascribe to Jesus a prophetic anticipation, which in the first four pictures in Matthew is figuratively depicted, and in the subsequent history slowly but really obtains its fulfilment.[4]

At rest upon the question of the sources, we may still find cause for anxiety as to the matter and spirit of the miraculous narrative. Here appears Jesus' first cure at a distance; a second follows in the case of the Canaanitish woman. In the general review, this category has been noticed only in passing, without an examination of the detailed difficulties. If these difficulties

[1] Synagogues built by private individuals, Lightfoot, p. 514. The picture of Cornelius (Acts x. 2) is later.

[2] *Geschichtl. Christus*, pp. 54 sqq.

[3] Luke xiii. 28.

[4] On the arrangement of the first quaternion of miracles in Matthew (alternating between Jews and Gentiles), comp. above, p. 198.

were found to be so great as to overthrow all earlier suppositions, must then those suppositions give way, or must the narrative be given up? Cures at a distance totally shut out the personal contact of Jesus with the sick, a contact which in other cases is the rule. Cures at a distance do not in any way imply the exercise of faith on the part of the sick. Cures at a distance cut away—as Strauss also finds—all natural or half-natural explanations of the results; and Strauss has particularly shown that with the formula "that cures at a distance have in them nothing inconceivable when regarded as the results of spiritual activity," nothing is gained, since men are not mere spirits operating upon each other spiritually. Strauss finds himself shut up to the trilemma: If Jesus spoke as the Gospels say he did—"Go thy way, be it unto thee according to thy faith," or indeed, as John gives it, "Thy son lives"—then either he must have been conscious of being able, as a real worker of miracles, to effect such a cure, or in his blind faith he was a presumptuous enthusiast, or he was a shameless swindler and impostor. Thus Strauss and others—both passionate and temperate critics—have found destructive criticism the only escape from their difficulty, and have regarded this incident as simply a fictitious imitation of the miracle of Elisha, who cleansed from leprosy the Syrian general Naaman, at a distance, in the waters of the Jordan.[1] Perhaps, however, it is a profounder idea which appears equally in Elisha's act of curing at a distance and in those of the New Testament: the powerful operation of the word of God and of His messengers is in figure carried beyond Israel into the lands of the far-off Gentiles.[2] Both ideas are ingenious, but Elisha's example is not to the point, for the dipping in the Jordan is added as an efficient means to the words spoken by the prophet at a distance, and the two narratives exhibit generally little similarity; and the far-reaching preaching to the Gentiles would not be illustrated in the most striking manner possible by the agency of

[1] Strauss, pp. 462 sq.; 2 Kings v. 1.

[2] Comp. Volkmar, *Rel. J.*, and *Evangelien*.

Gentiles dwelling so near at hand, by help afforded at the distance of a street's length. And after all, in these New Testament narratives, in the words of Jesus, and exactly in the cases in question, there is much real, uninvented reminiscence.[1]

Nevertheless, it is not therefore necessary to believe in the purely miraculous, or, with Dr. Paulus, in the sending of an Apostle to be the communicator between the persons. The communication lay with the father and the son. Doubtless the father had not undertaken his journey to Jesus without the knowledge and faith of the son; this possibility is affected only by John's mention of the fever. Restorative power already lay in this highly-wrought faith and expectation; and what, besides John's words, hinders us from bringing the actually perfect healing into connection with the return of the confident and rejoicing father, the return which is assumed in the very words of Jesus?[2] But did Jesus speak as an enthusiast? Even if he spoke as John represents, he spoke in harmony with the already demonstrated certainty that sickness would yield to the two-fold faith. But if he spoke as Matthew and Luke represent (and he thus spoke also in the presence of the Canaanitish woman), "Go thy way, and as thou hast believed so be it unto thee!" then did Jesus utter not directly a command, but, as in many other instances, simply such an affirmation as stood midway between a benediction conditioned by the will of God and the faith of the house, and an efficient act.[3]

[1] In Luke xvii. 14, John ix. 7, are rather features which might suggest Elisha.

[2] Olshausen thought of the operation at a distance of magnetic forces; Weizsäcker (p. 372) more correctly ascribes the results to the general faith which was independent of personal presence, indeed, to the influence of the popular agitation. Similarly Lange, II. p. 275, says that the cure passed by a mental road through the heart of the father, of the mother. Such cures at a distance A. Wysard also admits (with reference to more recent facts). *Reformblätter*, 1870, p. 1.

[3] In Mark vii. 29, the form of expression is, it is true, quite different: "The spirit is gone out." The wish in the imperative, as Matt. vi. 10; Acts i. 20, *opp.* Gen. i. 3.

D.—The Healing of the Possessed.

Besides the cases, above referred to, of healing those who were diseased in body, there are the so-called exorcisms of evil spirits from the possessed.[1] Definite and detailed incidents are not, indeed, narrated in this first period; and we have here nothing else to do than to examine a little more closely the unhistorical character of the first miracle of Luke and Mark, and the later position of the third miracle of Matthew, the incident of the Gadarenes. But we have seen that the Gospels—with the exception of John's, which offers us nothing at all in this province, apparently avoiding it—and, in addition to the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles also, assume the occurrence of this species of healing during the whole, including therefore the early period, of the ministry of Jesus, and even find in such cases the peculiar characteristic of his ministry.[2] In fact, these cases of healing are especially noteworthy; they belong to the most obscure of all subjects, and more than anything else betray the peculiar mode of conception not only of the age, but of Jesus himself; and at the same time they give us the clearest insight into the fact that the cures effected by Jesus were essentially spiritual operations.

Possession was a modern disease among the Jews. Neither Moses nor the prophets had smitten or threatened Egypt or Israel with it. Not until a far later period did leprosy cease to be the greatest of evils. The disease was preceded and created by the belief in a Satan and an angel of wickedness.[3]

There are to be found in the Old Testament early instances of the introduction of ideas borrowed from the primitive oriental universal antithesis of good and evil, which in Parseeism was personified in Ahriman "the evil spirit," and Ahurmazda (Or-

[1] Comp. my article, *Besessene*, in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*.

[2] See above, pp. 170 sqq.

[3] The late Jews, it is true, represent Adam and Noah as having had to do with demons, the latter with the wine-demon. Buxtorf, p. 2339. Lightfoot, p. 33.

muzd) "the very wise Lord." The licentious sons of God, the serpent, the unclean beasts, the phantoms and goat-like satyrs, perhaps also the well-known Azazel, may also be mentioned as shadow-pictures of the obscure world which the Orient elsewhere possessed, and which Judaism at a later date is known to have largely imported.[1] For with such admirable energy has the Old Testament consistently and with a profound moral insight carried its divine discovery—the conception of the unity of God—into the province of the freedom of created beings, that even the unclean world, the serpent, that symbol of the evil creation of Ahriman, are reckoned as creations of God; the deceivers of mankind are sons of God; the executors of mischief are the divine angels of misfortune; the spirit that seeks to be a false spirit in the prophets of Israel appears before God with his proposals; the evil spirit that attacks king Saul is called a spirit from God; and the temptation of David to evil is said to be an act of the angry and forsaken Deity.[2]

Not until after the times of the carrying away of the nation into inner Asia, after the Babylonish exile (B.C. 588), and after the Persian rule, were the germs of the dualistic belief strongly developed among the Jews. The later Greek literature also, in Plutarch, confirms the opinion that the doctrine of demons was imported chiefly from Persia.[3] At this point there appears tangibly the conception of Satan as an angelic being antagonistic to man, and addicted to tempting man, although continually held in subjection to God. He is depicted as the tempter of David in the numbering of the people; and around him there gather gradually the subaltern powers of evil, who, standing nearer to man, are most dangerous of all to him.[4] In the later pre-Chris-

[1] Gen. vi. 1, iii. 1; Lev. xi. 1; Deut. xiv. 1. The night-woman (nachtfrau), *lilit*, Is. xxxiv. 14. Satyrs, *seirim*, Is. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14; comp. Lev. xvii. 7, 2 Chron. xi. 15. Azazel, Lev. xvi. 8.

[2] Gen. vi. 1; Ps. lxxviii. 49; 1 Sam. xvi. 14 sqq.; 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; 1 Kings xxii. 21 (πν. ψευδές).

[3] Plutarch, *De def. orac.* 10.

[4] Zech. iii. 1 sqq.; Job i. 6 sqq.; 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

tian literature, especially in the books of Baruch and Tobit, the belief in such existences is very distinctly expressed. The *dæmonia* or evil spirits, the Persian *Daëvas* (Devs) and Drujas, here already appear as the molesters, assailants, and destroyers of men; especially Asmodeus, the Persian Æshma-Daëva, is, according to Jewish-Medish belief, enamoured of women, and slays in the bridal chamber seven bridegrooms, who wish to share with him the object of his jealousy.[1] That age is already busy with superstitious means of expelling these evil spirits, and an angel gives a recipe for a fish-fumigation. Asmodeus flees from the smell, and, being bound by the angel in the wilderness, never returns.[2] Also in the book of Enoch, in the Targums, in the Talmud, we can follow this development. The book of Enoch enumerates the twenty rulers of the 200 fallen sons of God, and among them Azazel in particular; the Talmud mentions Asmodeus, besides Sammaël the king of the demons; the Targums are acquainted with the hurtful spirits of morning, noon, and night, against whose evil influences fastings, ablutions, prayers, and phylacteries are to be used.[3] But the best voucher is the later contemporary of the rise of Christianity, Josephus the Jerusalemite. He knows of demoniacal beings who enter living men, terrify them, choke them, nay, take complete possession of them, deprive them of their reason and slay them, if no help can be found, which happily, since the days of Saul and Solomon, he knows to have been obtainable.[4] Even the illuminated Jews of Egypt were not able to get rid completely of this new faith; on the contrary, they themselves were the means of

[1] Baruch iv. 7, 35; Tobit iii. 8, vi. 7. Asmodeus (Talm. Ashme(o)dai) is the Persian Æshma-Daëva (Renan, p. 262), or Ashemaopha (Ewald, IV. p. 269).

[2] Tobit vi. 7 sqq.

[3] Book of Enoch, capp. vi. sqq. (after Gen. vi. 1). Targums and Talmud, in Lightfoot, p. 308. Schöttgen, p. 124. Asmodeus is called *malka, sar, rosh shede*. Shibta is dangerous to those who neglect to wash their hands, and also to children. Lightfoot, pp. 34, 331. Praying, *ib.* p. 356. Schöttgen, p. 233. Comp. Winer, *Besessene, Gespenster*, and *Phylacterien*. Roskoff, *Gesch. des Teufels*, 1869.

[4] Josephus, *Ant.* 6, 8, 2; ἐγκαθεζόμενοι, 6, 11, 2; λαμβανόμενος, 8, 2, 5 (Solomon); *B. J.* 7, 6, 3.

establishing it anew, by becoming the mediators and colporteurs between the East and the West. They incorporated with this new faith Greek superstition, and they elevated into a current technical expression in the Jewish, Gentile, and Christian world, the Greek word dæmons (in the diminutive, dæmonia), that is, primarily the "distributing" deities, but subsequently used of every kind of lower and dreaded divinity, finally of the tormenting and inferior spirits or "devils."[1] For the gods of the Gentiles, as well as the evil spirit of God in Saul, the angels of misfortune, and phantoms, are all classed together by the Greek translators of the New Testament as *dæmonia*, a word corresponding to the Hebrew *shedim*.[2] And the Gentile Greek literature shows on its part the reflex influence of this Jewish mode of conception, particularly in the fact that the specific Jewish belief in demons, the belief in possession, in a sensuous-fleshly and evil nature of the intermediate existences, found acceptance far and wide, and in the later Platonism was made use of in the explanation and purification of the old mythology.[3]

This belief in demons, in devils and inferior devils who took possession of men, this belief in actual possession but also in possible or actual recovery is found also in the New Testament, especially in the Gospels. Above all, it appears deeply rooted in the popular mind. The people, instigated by the Scribes, say of the Baptist, and according to John also of Jesus, "He hath a devil."[4] The father of the lunatic boy describes to Jesus—at least

[1] Demons, Greek properly οἱ δαίοντες = those who distribute destinies. Comp. Homer, *Od.* 5, 396 : an inimical demon harassed him. Development of the belief in the intermediate beings in Hesiod, Pythagoras, Plato, Chrysippus. Even Aristotle, *De mirab.* Bekk. 166 : δαίμονι κάτοχος.

[2] The gods as demons in the Greek translation, Deut. xxxii. 17 ; Ps. cvi. [cv.] 37. Evil spirit in Saul, 1 Sam. xvi. 16, 23. Angels of misfortune, Ps. lxxviii. [lxxvii.] 49. Phantoms, Is. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14 ; Ps. xci. [xc.] 6 (μεσημβρινὰ δαιμόνια).

[3] Comp. Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius, Celsus, Lucian (*Pseudolog.* 16), Philostratus, Porphyry, and the Neo-platonists generally. On the similar theory of the Talmud, see below, p. 240, note 4.

[4] Matt. xi. 18, comp. ix. 34, xii. 24 ; John viii. 48.

according to the Gospels of Luke and Mark—his son's disease as a case of possession: "A spirit seizes him, he suddenly cries out, tears him with foaming, and scarcely departs from him, bruising him." The Gentile woman of Canaan also cries before Jesus, "My daughter is sore vexed with a demon."[1] No wonder, for the teachers of the people themselves recognized these facts and made them important points in their dogmatics. The Pharisees divided the evil spirits into classes and orders, with Beelzebub as their monarchical head, who was originally nothing else than the supreme deity of their neighbours the Phenicians. He was called the chief or *archon* of the demons; the Pharisees, in their envy, accused Jesus of casting out demons by the aid of Beelzebub; and they even based the reputation of their school on the number and character of their exorcisms.[2] The same opinions are also found in our Gospels. The conceptions of the authors of the Gospels are indeed, in a certain way, much better attested than those of the people or of the Pharisees, or of Jesus, because the writers are in all these cases reporters who plainly enough in so many places put their own view directly into the mouths of the people.[3] In doing this they have certainly not been guilty of an act of historical injustice, since their views and those of the people can be shown—as the reader may find on referring only to Josephus—to have essentially coincided. Thus our authors speak of demoniacs, or of men with spirits, with evil and unclean spirits, with spirits of unclean demons. They speak of a human possession of unclean spirits, and naturally still more of a demoniacal possession of men. These spirits molest men, are reluctant to depart from their victims, whom they seize, tear, drive from place to place, and strangle—in fact, so dominate and possess, that it is no longer the men who speak and think and will, but simply the masters

[1] Matt. xvii. 15, xv. 22.

[2] Matt. xii. 24 sqq., ix. 34, xii. 27. More in detail when describing the Beelzebub controversy.

[3] Comp. Mark i. 27.

that dwell in them.[1] It is possible that not merely one, whether a subordinate or the supreme devil, has established himself in a man; there may be seven of the more wicked demons or even a legion, though it is not shown in what relation they stand to each other, beyond that of brotherly companionship.[2] These dwellers in men thus acquire a condition of terrestrial, animal-sensual rest, instead of a wearisome wandering to and fro in the wilderness, or indeed of a return to the gloomy underworld: they acquire this condition in men, but also in unclean beasts, and the possessed creatures must go with them to their favourite locality, whether it be the deserts, or the mountains, or the sepulchres.[3] The endeavour to retain their comfortable position comes in conflict, it is true, with their tendency to wear out, misuse, injure, and destroy those whom they enter; but the compensation seems to be found in the possibility of substituting new dwellings for those that are worn out. The details of the control and exhaustive use of the dwelling are in the highest degree various: the specific form is the occupation of man through his higher nature, accompanied with those phenomena which in the present day are regarded as belonging to the province of insanity and madness.[4] The demon that produces the phenomena of epilepsy appears to be always less mischievous, and is generally quiet, though according to the account in Mark especially obstinate.[5] There are also demons whose most impor-

[1] *δαιμονιζόμενοι* (also among later Greeks, instead of *δαιμονιῶντες*, *δαιμονικοὶ*, *δαιμονιόληπτοι*, comp. larvati, lymphatici, cerriti, &c.), in the aorist *δαιμονισθεὶς*, *πνευμ. ἀκάθαρτα*, *ἀνθρ. ἐν πνευμ.* (Heb. ruach raah, ruchot thümah), Matt. iv. 24, xii. 43; Luke iv. 33; Mark i. 33. Possessing unclean spirits, Mark iii. 30; Matt. xii. 45. Vexed with spirits, Luke vi. 18; Acts v. 16. Seized, Luke ix. 39; Mark ix. 18. Driven about by spirits, Luke viii. 29. Dominated by them, Acts x. 38. The spirit reluctant to depart, Luke ix. 39.

[2] Matt. xii. 45; Luke viii. 2, 30, xxii. 3. Comp. Cœtus dæmonum, Buxtorf, p. 2338.

[3] Matt. viii. 29 sqq.; Luke viii. 28 sqq.; Mark v. 10; Matt. xii. 43 sqq., comp. iv. 1.

[4] Matt. viii. 29, &c.

[5] Matt. iv. 24, xvii. 15; Mark ix. 14—29. Mohammed held his epilepsy to be Demoniacal. Herzog, XVIII. p. 772.

tant peculiarity lies in speechlessness and in depriving their human instruments of some of their senses, e. g., in blindness.[1] Thus it would be possible to connect a "spirit of infirmity" with every bodily defect, with a deformity, or indeed with a fever.[2] Finally, there were cases of possession which exhibited simply mental, and no physical, marks; thus the sacred authors were able to speak of an entering of Satan into Judas, the malevolent betrayer; and on the other side, the Jews could speak of an alliance of the Baptist or of Jesus, whose sayings and doings they did not understand, with demoniacal powers.[3] The limits of the application of the conception were naturally fluctuating. Not all the dumb, deformed, and blind, not even all the lunatics, were said to be possessed, though the rule regulating the distinction was not laid down. It is in harmony with this that the later Evangelists, as may be easily seen, were favourable to the increasingly wide expansion of the conception.[4]

But before we pass on to the healings themselves, it is pre-eminently interesting and important to ask the question, What was the attitude of Jesus towards the opinion of the age on the subject of possession? For that we have here to do with an opinion of a certain age, we, writing in the spirit of scientific and Christian freedom, are not prepared to join the chorus of those who are not free in denying, even if it should be shown that Jesus himself shared in the opinion. That inexplicable derangements of mind and body, especially when they made their appearance in rapid paroxysms, should be referred, by a consciousness equally uninstructed religiously and naturally, to higher powers good and bad, was as consistent with the popular standpoint from the East to Rome, as the gradual withdrawal

[1] Matt. ix. 32, xii. 22; Luke xi. 14. Comp. also Matt. iv. 24, xv. 30, xii. 43; Mark vii. 32.

[2] Luke xiii. 11, comp. viii. 2, iv. 39. Sudden, especially nocturnal, illnesses of children occasioned by Shibta, Lightfoot, pp. 34, 527.

[3] Luke xxii. 3; John xiii. 27. Also Matt. x. 25, xi. 18.

[4] Comp. Matt. iv. 24. Also Luke vii. 21, xiii. 11, viii. 2, iv. 39, xxii. 3; John xiii. 27.

of highflying conceptions was to advancing science.[1] The latter began among the Hellenes with the renowned Hippocrates of Cos (B. C. 400), who was the first to refer epilepsy—already called by Herodotus "the sacred disease"—to natural causes; and this Hippocratic spirit made such progress in the course of centuries, that even the Jews Philo and Josephus explained such diseases more or less rationally, and the great Christian teacher Origen (in the third Christian century), who was in other respects a man of illumination, found himself with his restoration of the possessed by means of faith altogether deprived of the help of the highly renowned Alexandrian physicians and their physiologies. That which the Church persisted in upholding has been since the end of the 17th century so shaken by Balthazar Bekker, Christian Thomasius, John Solomon Semler, and most of all by modern natural science, that criticism no longer entertains any doubt upon the subject, whilst the defence of one position after another has been given up, and even the doubts of the "Christian physicians" have been admitted.[2] If, in these straits, from the time of Reinhard, all belief in possession in modern days has been renounced, with the view of

[1] Comp. Herodotus, 4, 79 : *βακχεύει κ. ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαίνεται.* Ib. 3, 33 : *ἱερὴ νόσος.* Aretæus, *De caus. morb. diut.* 1, 4 : *διὰ τῆς δόξης δαίμονος εἰς τ. ἀνθρ. εἰσόδον.* In the *Gloss. z. Erubh.* f. 42, 2, it is plainly said : sp. malus est dæmonium, quod *turbat intellectum* ejus. Further : omne genus *melancholiæ* vocant spir. malum. Lightfoot, p. 536. Maim. Gerush. 2 : sui compos non est. Lightfoot, p. 33. Hence the wine-demon of Noah, ib.

[2] Semler, *Comm. de dæmoniacis*, 1760—62. Timmermann, *Diatribe de dæmoniaeis evangeliorum*, 1786. Jahn, *Bibl. Archäol.* I. p. 411. De Wette, *Bibl. Dogm.* 3rd ed. pp. 146—148. Comp. Wetstein, pp. 279 sqq. Strauss, II. pp. 6 sqq. Bleek, I. p. 218. Hippocrates, *περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου.* Aretæus, *De caus. morb. diut.* Philo, *De gigant.* p. 286 (De Wette, p. 146). Josephus, *B. J.* 7, 6, 3 : *τὰ καλουμ. δαιμ., ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρ. πνεύματα* (an opinion which Lange repeats, II. pp. 286 sqq.). Origen on Matt. xvii. 15. Justin, *Ap.* 1, 18 (the dead). On the contrary, *ib.* 2, 5, 6. Tatian, *c. Græc.* 16. Clem. *Hom.* 8, 18 sqq. (giants). On the later illumination, comp. Hagenbach, *Dogmengesch.* II. p. 443. Limitation of demons to the time of Jesus (Reinhard). Resuscitation by Eichenmeyer, Justinus Kerner. Retention of the ancient narratives by Olshausen, Ebrard, Lange, Fressensé, Steinmeyer, with all kinds of concessions, comp. my article in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon.* Medical men : examples in Padioleau, p. 5. The Christian doubts, see Ebrard, in Herzog, III. p. 249.

retaining it firmly as to the past, how could the suspicious facts be altogether overlooked that the testimony concerning the possessed does not begin with Jesus, but with Judaism, and in the very midst of the incongruous ingredients of the Jewish religion; and that it is equally difficult to defend a divine inspiration of the belief in possession among Parsees and Jews, as it is to uphold a supplementary divine attestation of the dogma of the Parsees and Jews by Christianity?

But what was the attitude of Jesus towards this belief? For we need not inquire as to the Apostles in the Acts of the Apostles, and that not only because Jesus overshadows them, but also on account of the many critical questions to which that book gives rise. The answer is very difficult to arrive at, since we know the sayings and doings of Jesus only through the views and in the representations of writers who believed in possession. With regard to Jesus' menaces of the evil spirits, given in Luke and Mark indeed with full formulæ which are not reliable, who knows whether Jesus actually menaced the evil spirit or merely the sick man?[1] The most we can do is to build here again upon the words of Jesus, and to select those words of his which are the best attested and the most characteristic. Hence we have to pay little attention to the commission given to the Twelve when he sent them forth, "Cast out demons!" or to the language in Luke concerning the deformed woman, whom "Satan had bound;" or to Jesus' welcome, in the same Gospel, to the Seventy who had cast out devils, and with reference to whose doings Jesus is said to have seen the devil fall from heaven. We must rather fix our thoughts upon the accounts given in all the earlier Gospels of the vigorous and profound controversial discussion of Jesus with the Pharisees, on the occasion of the healing of a possessed man, and of their malicious verdict, as if he were casting out devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils; and with this

[1] Matt. xvii. 18 (Luke ix. 42); and on the other hand, Mark ix. 25. Matt. viii. 32; and on the other hand, Luke viii. 29, and finally Mark v. 8. Also Luke iv. 35; Mark i. 25.

controversy we may also examine the further utterances which follow and are connected with it.[1] It may be here admitted that Jesus is mainly hypothetically attacking, and with all his resources driving into a corner, merely an explanation, an hypothesis, so that the conclusion is nothing more than this: The casting out of devils, whether such a thing be or not, is logically inconceivable as being done by the aid of devils. It may also be urged that the whole passage shows a poetical colouring, and deals in personification when perhaps it is not really intended to suggest the existence of persons or beings. It may be added that now and then Jesus takes no notice of the demoniacal origin of disease when such an origin is mentioned to him, but simply heals the diseased person; that he speaks of an infirmity when the Evangelist speaks of a spirit of infirmity; that in the affair of the Gadarenes who were possessed, he seems merely to yield passively to a fixed idea. It is possible to base on these analogies the conclusion which Spinoza and rationalism had already arrived at, and which Schenkel, under Pressensé's contradiction, still upholds, viz., that Jesus, though possessing better knowledge, accommodated himself more or less to the opinion of his age.[2] But this theory of accommodation has its objection on general grounds, while with reference to the classical passage in question it is certainly not admissible. For the hypothetical demonstration of Jesus opens out into a categorical one, and the seriousness and wide bearing of his conclusions shut out any accommodation, since otherwise the greatest and the holiest, which he wished to prove, would rest on a foundation of sand. His proposition is no less a one than that his exorcism of the demons by the spirit of God proves the actual advent of the kingdom of God. And this proof he completely establishes by pointing out that the spoliation of the house and goods of the

[1] Matt. x. 8, vii. 22; Luke xiii. 16, x. 18. Also Matt. xii. 25 sqq., 43 sqq.

[2] Simple healing, Matt. xv. 28. Infirmity, Luke xiii. 10 sqq. Gadarenes, Matt. viii. 31 sq. Schenkel, pp. 67, 372. Also Längin, p. 96. Earlier writers, Winer, Neander, Twesten, Hase, Bleek (I. p. 219), Pressensé (pp. 381 sqq., who personally believes in Satanic magnetism).

strong one, of the devil, necessarily presupposes the antecedent chaining of the devil, and that the vanquishment of the opposing monarchy in its head and members is nothing else than the advent of the kingdom of God. In immediate connection with these propositions, stands next the threatening of that generation with the return of the expelled spirits in seven-fold strength; and on the other side, the earlier antedated narratives gain consistency. If in this way the great probability that Jesus upheld an opinion belonging to the age on the subject of possession be confirmed, only those can be thereby offended who are less willing to believe in his being subject to the conditions of human nature than in his divine omniscience, and in his specially religious mission to the world than in his universal theoretical and practical perfection, and who finally, by basing his claims upon facts that are open to question, are liable to be mistaken as to his real historical dignity and lofty position. Such a divine character is nowhere asserted in the history of Jesus; the confining of Jesus' vocation to the religious mission is from the beginning asserted and upheld; whilst his historical dignity is to be kept firmly within the manifold limitations of the character of the age, as will be shown in the concluding section. That Jesus did not absolutely break away from the views of the age upon this point, is intelligible enough with regard to such an extremely mysterious province of natural and spiritual life; and it becomes yet more intelligible when we reflect that the purely religious tendency of mind brought with it not only an absence of scientific knowledge, but even an increased prepossession for the popular mode of conception. For religious contemplation feeds upon mystery, upon the antithesis of good and bad; and Jesus' solemn view of the world found the universal antithesis of God and the devil and of a dual kingdom, which he perceived everywhere in the heart and in the actions of men and in the historical development of good and evil, again in this special province of demoniacal possession. But exactly because he more profoundly combined with his religious consciousness those natural

facts which he in the main interpreted as others did, was he—we say it with emphasis—at least partially a reformer in this province also. It is evident that he gladly fell back from the fantastic mythological multiplicity of evil spirits upon the unity, the absolute existence of Satan. It is evident that he conceived the relations of the Satanic to the human as not merely physical, but psychical and ethical, so that we find in him, in the place of a belief in the obscure, secretly working power against which Judaism could protect itself only by fastings and the washing of hands and fumigations, a conviction of fundamental facts and processes in the soul, of mental and moral dispositions, of yieldings, of faults, of human resistances and protective means. It is, moreover, evident that instead of the mere processes of nature, or indeed of superstition, he created for therapeutics that psychical and moral power which through him wrought miracles, and which has perpetuated itself until now under the name of psychiatry.[1]

The most important thing for this section of our history is, that Jesus healed such diseased persons; or, to speak more circumspectly, that our Christian authors give us accounts of such healings. For, alas! there are many grounds on which these narratives of the healing of possessed persons are open to question, and that quite apart from any reference to the universal conception of the age. It is a fact that the fourth Gospel is altogether silent as to any such healings by Jesus; and Ewald is likely to meet with little sympathy in regretting and attempting to prove the dropping out of a narrative of possession.[2] It is a

[1] Matt. xii. 25 sqq., 43 sqq.; Luke xiii. 16. Also the Rabbis believed that blame attached to men, comp. Lightfoot, p. 331. Protective means: fasting, Lightfoot, p. 312; washing, against the demon Shibta, p. 331. Weizsäcker (p. 376) as in the text above.

[2] Only John vii. 20, viii. 48, x. 20, in the words of the people. While Eichhorn, Herder, Wegscheider, De Wette, rejoiced in the Johannine illumination, Ewald missed a narrative of demoniacal possession in vi. 1. But his proposition goes too far, that John has given one example of every principal kind of work (*Joh. Schr.* I. p. 25). Where is the leper? Volkmar is ready with the information that John did not wish for a "stinking" leper.

fact, also, that the earlier Gospels have on the whole given general rather than detailed concrete and objective accounts; they harmonize in the main only in two detailed instances—those of the Gadarenes and the lunatic; their reports show, both as to general features and details, a very noticeable progressive intensification of the horrible and also of dogmatic presupposition; and if we were to take the most striking and best attested account of healing in the particular province of demoniacal possession—that of the Gadarenes—in its simplest form in Matthew's Gospel, we should be alarmed by the sheer impossibilities contained in it, as will be shown in the proper place. Is everything, then, myth, or indeed fable? If so, the fabulous is certainly not based upon the Old Testament, for that neither narrates nor—to the regret of the interpolater of Matthew—predicts cases of possession; but upon dogmatic convictions or figurative representations of religious history, whether that which is figured in these narratives is the victory of the Messiah over Satan, or the victory of Christianity over the heathen world that was under the power of demons.[1]

These objections, however, do not destroy the fact. We may pass over the silence of John's Gospel: that silence may be accounted for either on the ground that an eclectic Gospel can dispense with a few miracles which are related copiously enough by its predecessors, or that the Greek-cultured narrator had, neither on his own behalf nor on that of his readers, any taste for this genuinely Jewish kind of healing, however ready he might otherwise be to uphold in a subtler manner the demoniacal factor in the universe, even to the entering of the devil into Judas.[2] The contradictions and colourings of the Synoptics themselves are not sufficient to lead us to doubt, in so far as we everywhere receive the impression that the actual occurrence of

[1] Comp. above, Vol. II. p. 317, note 1. Matt. viii. 17 is a far-fetched prediction introduced by the Hebraist. The exaggerations in number and degree in Luke and Mark are too clear to need proof.

[2] Comp. Bretschneider, *Prob.* p. 118. Köstlin, *Syn.* p. 241.

such healings is to them a supposition not at all strange; and this is true though every detail should fall to the ground. Finally, these narratives have had their rise as little in historical religious symbolism as in Jewish-Christian dogmatics, which latter would have no specially modifying influence in this province, because the exorcism of demons occurred less in Gentile than—as Josephus and the Talmud show—in Jewish districts.[1] On the other hand, we have very positive reasons for accepting the fact of such healings. We have seen that the nation at this period believed in possession; and it would have been a cause for astonishment—as even Strauss admits—if Jesus, standing forth as a healer, and doing this at a time full of religious, political, and social fermentation, distress, and disruption, a time which, like the present, was favourable to such forms of disease, should have found nothing to do with such sufferers, the victims of general and individual excitement and despondency. Moreover, the notices themselves are so constant, so definite, extending from the Gospel to the Acts of the Apostles. Finally, we have the narrative of Mary Magdalene, the woman with the seven spirits, the well-known disciple and friend of Jesus; and over and above the incidents, we have the blasphemous utterances of the Pharisees, and the noble apology of Jesus. Here doubt has no place.

The healings effected by Jesus in this province came about in consequence sometimes of accidental encounters, sometimes of the bringing of the sick by their friends,—hence it was never he

[1] Jesus draws from these works a Messianic testimony (Matt. xii. 28); but this point plays no special rôle in the Messianic doctrines of the Jews. Comp. above, Vol. II. p. 317. Lightfoot; Bertholdt. Historical religious symbolism, according to Baur, Hilgenfeld, and Volkmar. Certainly the heathen gods are demons in 1 Cor. x. 20, and Samael is *sar Roma*, Buxtorf, p. 1495. But only the cases of the Gadarenes and the Canaanitish women occurred on heathen soil (comp., however, the Seventy, Luke x. 17; Philip, Acts viii. 7; Paul, Acts xvi. 16, xix. 12; 1 Cor. v. 5, xii. 10). On Jewish ground, Matt. iv. 24, xii. 22, xvii. 14; Luke iv. 33, 41, vi. 18, vii. 21, viii. 2, ix. 1, 37, 49, xi. 14, xiii. 10, 32; Acts v. 16; Mark i. 13, 32, iii. 11, &c. Köstlin saw this, *Synopt.* p. 241. Steinmeyer, nevertheless, repeats the error with apologetic tendency (p. 126). Strauss is (p. 446) moderate enough to ascribe the highest probability to these very works.

who sought the sick, but they who sought him.[1] The narrative of the Canaanitish woman affords an exceptional instance, in which the sick person herself was not on the spot, but only her mother.[2] In the case of the lunatic, Jesus asked that the patient might be brought into close proximity to him.[3] According to the accounts, the mere sight of Jesus aroused the sick or the spirits that tenanted them into the most violent agitation. They pressed towards him; or, according to Luke and Mark, fell before him as in the act of doing homage; they began to speak, to cry out, they called him by his name, and ascribed to him a higher dignity than that of the saints and of the Messiah of God; they deprecated his presence, which they regarded as the harbinger of their downfall.[4] Such outbreaks are reported in the few detailed narratives, and similarly also by Luke and Mark in the specifically different disease of the lunatic, as well as in the general descriptions.[5] Jesus checked as quickly as possible these unwelcome and, in their more definite utterances, compromising outbreaks: "He suffered them not to speak," says Mark, "because they knew him."[6] He himself began to speak; with a word, so Matthew tells us, therefore without means, as Zarathustra (Zoroaster) had previously done, without touching and without conjuration, with a decisive word of command, which the later Evangelists take some pains to recover,—"Hold thy peace and come out of him;" "Thou speechless and mute spirit, I command thee, come out of him and never enter into him again,"—did he drive the devils out.[7] Then followed a cry, a

[1] The latter, Matt. ix. 32, xii. 22, xvii. 14. The former, Matt. viii. 28; Luke iv. 33; Mark i. 23.

[2] Matt. xv. 22.

[3] Matt. xvii. 17.

[4] Comp. *Pesikt.* I. 564. According to the Talmud, the demons resemble men in eating, bearing children, and dying; and are superior to men in the ability to fly and in foreknowledge. Buxtorf, p. 2339.

[5] Matt. viii. 28; comp. Luke iv. 33, 41, vi. 18, viii. 26, ix. 37, x. 17; Mark i. 23, 34, iii. 11, v. 1, ix. 17.

[6] Mark i. 34.

[7] Matt. viii. 16; comp. Luke iv. 35; Mark i. 25, v. 8, ix. 25. The formulæ are plainly framed in imitation of the *Jewish;* comp. Josephus, *Ant.* 8, 2, 5. Contact,

last paroxysm of madness, a final tearing, and the sick man was free, quiet, in his right mind.[1] Any miscarriage of these attempts of Jesus to heal is emphatically denied, although it is admitted that the disciples failed, and a possibility of the return of the evil spirit is certainly not in every case excluded.[2] But the first impression was such as to lead the people to say, "It was never so seen in Israel!"[3] Jesus himself ascribed his power to his faith, to his possession of the Spirit of God, as well as to that antecedent victory over Satan which he had achieved before or in the beginning of his public ministry; and to his disciples he explained their incapacity by their want of faith, according to Mark by their want of prayer also; and he always regarded these mighty works, this bringing of the spirits into subjection, as a sign that the kingdom of God had come in solemn reality.[4]

However questionable may be many of the details in the Gospel narratives, the fact that Jesus wrought such cures as the above-mentioned must be acknowledged on several grounds: first, because of the strong testimony of both friends and foes; then on account of the established fact that others also wrought such cures; and finally, on account of the instructive superiority of his mode of operation. Here we have to speak of only the last two points. Jesus himself admits, more than Pressensé and Steinmeyer, that the Pharisees also, or more correctly their disciples, cast out devils. Doubtless he might have mentioned the Essenes also, if the opportunity had been an appropriate one, and if he had mentioned them at all.[5] Other exorcists are referred

Mark ix. 27. Zoroaster, comp. Spiegel's article *Parsismus*, in Herzog. Affectionate glances (thus Renan, p. 152, especially with reference to Mary Magdalene) were evidently never exhibited by Jesus in the case of demoniacs.

[1] Comp. Luke viii. 35.

[2] Matt. xii. 43, xvii. 16. Hausrath (p. 380) thinks it possible that the woman with seven devils was seven times ill.

[3] Matt. ix. 33.

[4] Matt. xvii. 20, xii. 28 sqq.; Mark ix. 29. Subjection of spirits, Luke x. 20.

[5] Matt. xii. 27. Josephus, *B. J.* 2, 8, 6. The leaders of the Pharisees were too respectable to engage in the work, regarding it as a menial labour to be performed by

to in the New Testament, and among them such as without any interdiction from Jesus are said to have cast out devils in his name.[1] But Josephus gives us the most exact information respecting the Jewish exorcists. He mentions the evil spirit of Saul, the medical treatment of whom his physicians were compelled to give up. As a substitute, they recommended that the tormenting demons should be sung and played out of him by hymns and harp-playing at his bedside. The demons were thus in reality "sung out" of him by David; as often as they came, he drove them out, restored to Saul his reason and his peace of mind, and was his only physician.[2] A second master was Solomon, David's son. God gifted him with wisdom against demons, to the profit and healing of men; he composed "incantations" by which the disease was quieted; and he left behind him forms of exorcism by which demons could be bound and cast out, and prevented from returning.[3] This student of nature also prescribed roots to be used in fumigations for the same end; the most potent of which were found among the aromatic plants of the hill district of Peræa, on the volcanic soil of Machærus. The root Baaras (so called from a ravine of that name near Machærus), which was of the colour of fire and was said to give forth a bright light at evening, was, in spite of the danger to life which Josephus fables to have accompanied the getting of it, much sought for on account of its virtue of effecting instantaneous cures.[4] *This mode of healing*, says Josephus, in his history of Solomon—in whose days, however, there were no possessed, but whose name at a later date played the first rôle in exorcisms —*has flourished among us in the highest degree to the present time;* and with the view of overcoming unbelief, he narrates the story

their disciples (comp. John iv. 2; Acts xiii. 5). Essenes, see above, Vol. I. p. 377. Pressensé (p. 384) trifles when he asserts that the Jewish exorcists only sought to do what Jesus really performed.

[1] Matt. vii. 22; Luke ix. 49; Mark ix. 38; Acts xix. 13, &c.

[2] Josephus, *Ant.* 6, 8, 2; 6, 11, 2.

[3] Ib. *Ant.* 8, 2, 5.

[4] Ib. *B. J.* 7, 6, 3. Comp. *Tanch.* f. 70: Radices sumunt et suffumigant ipsum, aquam vero ipsi infundunt et spiritus aufugit. Schöttgen, p. 125.

of an exorcist, Eleazar, who during the Jewish war restored demoniacs publicly, in the most respectable surroundings, in the presence of the emperor Vespasian, his sons, officers, and soldiers. He applied to the nose of the diseased a ring which had one of the roots mentioned by Solomon under the signet stone, drew forth the demon through the nostrils of the smelling and fainting patient, and adjured it in the name of Solomon and with the use of his incantations never to return. In order to make the result the more evident, Eleazar placed close at hand a little vessel filled with water, and commanded the demon to upset it as it passed out of the man, so that the bystanders might have proof of its exit. "When this took place, the understanding and wisdom of Solomon were clearly shown; and in order that all might know the greatness of his nature and how he was beloved of God, and that no one under the sun might be ignorant of the king's extraordinary virtues of every kind, have we been moved to relate these things."[1] For centuries flourished this Jewish art of exorcism by fumigations and bindings, with appeals to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; it was appropriated even by the Gentiles; and Talmudic Judaism is also quite full of the names of demoniacs, of notices of secret, especially nocturnal, ambushes of the demons, as well as of means of deliverance.[2] Envious heathenism has narrated in the life of the famous Apollonius of Tyana a story altogether similar to that of Eleazar the Jew.[3]

If it be found conceivable that by means of this superstitious employment of songs which were intended to soothe, of magical formulæ which were intended partly to terrify and partly to animate, of fumigations, anointings, and ablutions, mentally diseased men again acquired for a shorter or a longer period equilibrium of mind and body, much greater efficacy must be attached to the impressions and influences produced and exer-

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* 8, 2, 5.

[2] Comp. the passages from the *Const.*, &c., below, p. 248.

[3] Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 4, 20.

cised by the person of Jesus, by his holy calmness, by his imposing confidence, and by his authoritative word of command, even without the addition of the semi-magical formulæ which Mark has introduced, and which the Talmud has ascribed to Jesus and his Apostles. And this will be recognized especially when it is distinctly remembered that his influence was generally brought to bear with a treble force: first, there was his name in the mouths of the people, which was the first incentive to action on the part of the sick; then there was his look; and, finally, his authoritative utterance. Modern science is perfectly unanimous in accepting this view of his influence.[1] Only we must not adopt the opinion that a veiled and obscured mental life is like a burnt-out coal. Jesus did not re-kindle burnt-out coal; nor did he, as the people imagined, put foreign guests to flight. He only freed a bound and enslaved self-consciousness from the bonds and chains, from the morbid dispositions and the melancholy with which the superstition of the diseased and of others was wont to trammel men. The certain indication of the presence of life is its response to applied stimulus. In the case of the possessed, this response was, it is true, primarily the most determined resistance; but we can understand that the new influence forced itself upon the existing condition of life and the dominant view of the universe as an offensive intruder, and that the reaction itself was only the beginning of healthy activity and the assimilation of the effective power which came from without. This new power operated with the force of a fresh great conception which supplanted the older one, with the force of a disposition which soothed and calmed the vital spirits, with the force of a current of will which tore down the self-erected bulwark of caprice, obstinacy, and perverted imagination. And even if it could work upon illusion only in the form of illusions —the diseased, in accordance with the popular conception, by no means believing that they were dispossessed merely of their

[1] Paulus, Schleiermacher, Hase, Neander, De Wette, Bleek, Winer, Strauss, Schenkel, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker, &c.

fixed ideas and their impotence of volition, but believing, on the contrary, that the word of command of the powerful Master expelled horrible demons—the chief fact remains, viz., that there took place a correction of the mental condition and that the patients came to themselves again.[1] The above is the verdict at which men in general will arrive concerning these cases of healing; and in support of the probable correctness of this view, it must never be forgotten that according to the evidences of that time it was the superstition itself, the superstitious conception, and not any actual physical phenomenon, which formed the generative cause of the disease; and on this latter ground those physicians may cease to be anxious who have been busying themselves with the contrast between the past and the present, and have missed in the past the physical means which, together with the moral, they are wont to make use of in the present. As to the details in these cures, however, and especially as to the Messianic utterances and the literal dread of hell on the part of the diseased, we may remain in doubt. It would not be impossible that the diseased, in accordance with their fixed idea that they were harbouring or were themselves demons, feared being sent back to hell and the judgment of hell as the extreme danger which the action of Jesus threatened; it would not be impossible that, through a highly intensified force of conception and imagination, they exaggerated the strongest expressions of the people concerning Jesus, and openly proclaimed as facts what the people had but whispered as suppositions.[2] At any rate, however, the Evangelists have clothed the actual facts in utter mys-

[1] ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι (of Saul), Josephus, *Ant.* 6, 8, 2; comp. Luke viii. 35. Dr. Paulus especially believed in a conscious assent of Jesus to the fixed ideas of the crazed (Matt. viii. 31 sq.); and even Pressensé partially (Gadarenes).

[2] Addressed as Jesus, or as Jesus of Nazara, Luke viii. 28, iv. 34; Mark v. 7, i. 24. Son of God, Son of the Highest, the holy one of God, Matt. viii. 29; Luke viii. 28, and the other passages in Luke and Mark. "They knew him," Luke iv. 41; Mark i. 34. Fear of being sent prematurely to hell, Matt. viii. 29. Possibility that the expressions of the demoniacs belong partly to a period when the people also were beginning to entertain a higher view of Jesus, Matt. xii. 23, xvi. 21, xx. 30. The best attested of these incidents—that of the Gadarenes—falls, at any rate, in the close of the Galilean period.

tery: beyond representing the devils as themselves speaking, the Evangelists have ascribed to them in their sayings a supernatural knowledge; they have represented them as knowing, as devils and not as men, the name of Jesus of Nazara, the nature of the Holy One of God, the Messiahship of Jesus, his divine Sonship, the destruction of the kingdom of hell, and, in the character of trembling devils, as doing homage to the Messiah upon their knees. Now, it is quite as possible that these authors have erroneously described actual facts, as that they have transformed the dogmatic opinions concerning demons and a vanquisher of the kingdom of Satan into facts. According to all our evidences, both these influences have been at work. These persistent detailed features are historically as well attested as the facts to which they belong, and they are in themselves not improbable; at the same time, however, by the evident stress laid upon them, by the higher exegesis, and by the generalization of what now and then happened in a natural way, they have become serviceable instruments of the idea, i. e. of the Jewish-Christian dogmatics.[1]

We have already seen that still less reliance can be placed upon the single detailed narrative of possession which is ascribed to this period, the case given in the beginning of the two later Gospels, Luke and Mark.[2] When Jesus enters the synagogue at Capernaum, and preaches as a man of authority and not as the Scribes, lo! one who is possessed cries out, "Ha! What is to us and thee, Jesus of Nazara? Thou art come to destroy us; we know thee who thou art, the holy one (i. e. the chosen) of God." Jesus sternly rebukes him, "Hold thy peace, and come out of him!" Then the unclean spirit tears him, cries with a loud voice, and comes out. The people are astonished; they call the word of Jesus a new and fully authorized teaching; and his fame spreads throughout the whole district, nay, says Mark—here also painting on a large canvas—throughout the whole district of Galilee. This incident did not happen. It necessarily assumes that the possessed man was violently excited

[1] Comp. above, p. 240, note 4.

[2] Luke iv. 33; Mark i. 23.

at the very first sight of Jesus; it is remarkable, however, that a long synagogue-address by Jesus, and the impression produced by it upon the people, precede the miracle, and during the whole of that time—i. e. so long as the narration requires it—and for the sake of the narration, the sick man waits, the possessed is silent. Further, the sick man or the spirit which possesses him speaks of himself in the plural; here is betrayed the carelessness of the transcriber, who, in other narratives which form the basis of this, found several men or devils, who therefore spoke in the plural. The close of the incident shows a third inconceivable feature: all Capernaum is excited, the whole neighbourhood, even the whole neighbourhood of Galilee, and doubtless Phenicia and Syria, are agitated; but immediately afterwards, Jesus quietly enters the house of Peter, and the modest fever-miracle of the evening, not the miracle performed on the possessed man in the morning, brings Capernaum into commotion. The incident itself has simply no peculiarity—as even the defenders of Mark perceive; in its commencement it imitates the incident of the Gadarenes, and that strikingly in the form in which it is given in Matthew; and in its close it imitates the incident of the lunatic, where the retreating spirit rends and cries out in the same way.[1] Finally, the incident bears all the marks of invention. Matthew does not give it, important as it was, and much as he might have wished to have it. In the tradition of the beginning of the teaching of Jesus, there was lacking a detailed narration of an incident of healing the possessed; and, in opposition to tradition, Matthew threw back the incident of the possessed Gadarenes, not, it is true, to the very beginning, but to the first period. The Gospels, especially the later ones, found Jesus' chief trophies in the miracles performed on the possessed. If Jesus began to teach as a man of authority and power, then the power revealed itself better in the mighty work performed on the demoniac, than in the preaching which Matthew, adhering to the original authori-

[1] Comp. Weisse, I. p. 477; Scholten, *Das älteste Evangelium*, 1869, p. 22.

ties, mentions alone.[1] But that which is most convincing remains to be mentioned: if Jesus began with a long programme-sermon at Nazara, and Nazara, notwithstanding all the preaching, was not favoured with the works done at Capernaum, must not then Jesus' commencement at Capernaum have been a work-sermon and a great work-programme? But we saw, and every one sees, that the sermon at Nazara is an unhistorical sermon-programme; hence the work-programme is also not at all more historical. It is, in truth, nothing else than the duplicate of the incident at Gadara. Matthew places it on the day after Jesus left Capernaum; Luke and Mark allow it to retain its later and historical place; but, as a compensation, they introduce its shadow, and indeed in a dominant front position.

Therefore criticism, though it is inexorable in such questions, nevertheless leaves standing the fact of the healing of demoniacs by Jesus, and gladly notes the infinite and quite natural astonishment which it excited. The surprise of the people, the fame of Jesus, the envy of the Pharisees, the attempts at imitation by the exorcists, are so many proofs that Jesus healed with new means and with unrivalled consequences, for he healed without means, and by spiritual power set spirits free.[2] The Apostles continued his mode of healing, and they were imitated by the whole of the early Church, which boasted more of these healings than of all others.[3] As results, not only were the demons made

[1] Matt. vii. 28 sq. According to Volkmar (*Ev.* p. 92), Matthew is at fault, and for the sake of brevity has so combined this fact with the incident of the Gadarenes as to make two Gadarenes out of one! Even in Mark, however, he does not find a prosaic narrative; the demoniac as such remains a fact as little as the connection between sermon and healing (pp. 88, 93).

[2] Matt. ix. 33 sq., xii. 23 sq.; Luke ix. 49.

[3] Comp. 1 Cor. v. 5, xii. 10; Acts v. 16, viii. 7, xvi. 16, xix. 12 sqq.; also Matt. x. 8; Luke x. 17; Mark vi. 13; Matt. xvii. 16. Justin, *Apol.* 2, 6; ib. *Tryph.* 85. Irenæus, 2, 6, 2. Tertullian, *Ap.* 23. Origen, *Con. Cels.* 1, 22; 4, 33, &c. The exorcists and *energumenoi* (possessed) of the Christian Church, *Constit. Ap.* 8, 26. Also in the times of Eusebius and Augustine recognized as important; never given up by the Catholic Church; in the Protestant Church, long maintained and partially even to the present day (exorcism at baptism) on the side of the Lutherans.

to tremble, but the heathen were led to believe; they believed the works of Jesus because they saw those of his followers; and they believed in Christianity because they recognized it as a "power" in a province which was to them the most mysterious, but which was, in truth, not its greatest.

Division III.—THE DISCIPLES, AND JESUS' LIFE AND TEACHING AMONG THEM.

A.—The Calling of the Disciples.

We learn, from all our sources, that Jesus, though he solemnly made his appeal to *all*, did not content himself with scattering his convictions and his demands over the broad and indefinite field of the nation in hope of future fruit, but that he very early gathered around himself a narrower circle, a company of learners.[1] In this he followed the example of other teachers, and also of the prophets. The Scribes of Jerusalem held a double relation to the people: they were honoured by the nation as preachers and guardians of the Law, and at the same time they gathered together the most zealous youths and men for instruction in the mysteries of the Law and for the continuance of the unbroken chain of tradition by trustworthy followers, whom they sometimes called to themselves, and sometimes permitted to accompany them, in obedience to the principle that it was a sin to have no one with whom to converse concerning the law of God.[2] Thus the doctors of the Law in the time of Herod the Great and Agrippa I., a Hillel and a Gamaliel—under whom sat Saul, afterwards a disciple of Jesus—were surrounded by a triple ring of hundreds or even thousands of hearers, in the precincts of the Temple, in the "porch of hewn stones."[3] But if, on the one hand, Jesus reckoned himself as one of the Scribes, so, on the other hand, did he much more

[1] Matt. ix. 13, xxii. 14 (general call).

[2] Schöttgen, 13, 89: ipse tibi culpam attrahis, quia nem. habes, c. quo d. lege div. colloquaris.

[3] Comp. Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 6, 2 sqq.; 17, 9, 3. See also above, Vol. I. pp. 301, 332, II. p. 133.

regard himself as one of the prophets.[1] And the prophets also were surrounded by the children of the prophets, the sons of the prophets (*bene nebiim*), who dwelt together in separate quarters in the towns or by the Jordan, as "schools" for the cultivation of religious inspiration.[2] Like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, John the Baptist, the last prophet, the prophet that immediately preceded and most powerfully influenced the character of Jesus, gathered together a circle of disciples, among whom he found his helpers and intimate associates in his religious practices.[3] The similarity of his needs naturally suggested to Jesus the advisability of imitating his predecessor. He required intimates and friends to satisfy the wants of his personal life; he required a persistent community for his official life—assistants and co-adjutors, a centre of operations for more extended work. This last would naturally press itself upon the attention of the man who had dedicated himself to a public life; and the model community must have been a matter of peculiar interest to the heart of him who neither undertook nor hoped to enkindle the whole nation with the rapidity of a John. We have, indeed, clear proofs of such views on the part of Jesus. Of decisive importance here is the fundamental fact that he required a number of persons who should be his followers, that therefore he neither waited for volunteers nor always received them when they offered themselves.[4] Moreover, he calls his disciples sometimes his relations, domestics, friends, brothers, or, speaking like the head of a household, his children and little ones; sometimes, again, he calls them his servants and workmen, whose business it is in a prophetic manner, as the salt of the earth, as the light of the world, as the citizens of a city that is set on a hill, and as the foundation-stones of a new great community, to attract the

[1] Comp. Matt. x. 24 sq., 41, xiii. 52, 57.

[2] In Rama, 1 Sam. xix. 19 sq.; Bethel, 2 Kings ii. 3; Gilgal, iv. 38; Jericho, ii. 5. Comp. Winer, *Propheten*.

[3] See above, Vol. II. p. 259.

[4] Matt. iv. 19, 21, ix. 9.

world to the praise of God by the beautiful and immediate example of their virtues, or spontaneously and vigorously to participate in Jesus' work of fishing for men and holding the plough, by co-operating with him in preaching the kingdom of heaven.[1]

The Gospels place the beginning of this gathering of disciples early. According to the older Gospels, it falls in the first Galilean period, but quite as distinctly not until after the commencement of the preaching to the people. This is shown not only in the whole course of the narration of Matthew and Mark, which simply exhibits a trifling difference of time with regard to Jesus' entry into Capernaum and his going into its synagogue, but also by the well-known address to the first-called, Peter, "Follow me; I will make you a fisher of men."[2] Such an abrupt, sharp insistance upon discipleship is not easily credible before Jesus had arrested attention as a teacher of the people, and before his first great achievements had given him a power over the minds of men. Jesus could not reasonably offer a prospect of catching men until he had himself made a beginning. From the just medium which Matthew and Mark have adopted, according to which Jesus called disciples immediately after the beginning of his preaching to the people, Luke and John have certainly departed, and that in opposite ways; the former makes the choice of the disciples follow somewhat late after the opening of the

[1] Domestics, Matt. x. 24; friends, xxvi. 50; Luke xii. 4 (John xv. 14); relations, Matt. ix. 15; brothers, xii. 50, xxviii. 10; children, Mark x. 24; little ones, Matt. x. 42, xviii. 6, 10, xxv. 40 (the expression with the secondary meaning of external social inferiority and internal humility). In the Old Testament, the corresponding expression *Kathon*, 1 Kings iii. 7 and Isaiah xxxvi. 9. Among the Rabbis the word *Kethonim* in this sense is not found, for the word in *Beresh. Rabb.* 42, 4, signifies only the temporal youth: si non sunt parvi, non sunt discipuli, si non sunt discipuli, non sunt sapientes (Wetstein, p. 379; comp. Lightfoot, p. 554). Comp. Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 6, 3, τοὺς νέους, and above, Vol. II. p. 135. Servants, Matt. x. 24, xxiv. 45; workmen, ix. 37 sq., xx. 1; salt, light, v. 13 sq.; citizens, v. 14; foundation-stone, xvi. 18; example, v. 16; co-operation, fishing, iv. 19; Luke ix. 60; plough, ix. 62; instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, Matt. xiii. 52; prophets, v. 12.

[2] Matt. iv. 17 and 18; Mark i. 14 sq., and 16; fishing, Matt. iv. 19.

preaching to the people, and the latter makes it precede that preaching.[1] But both accounts are untenable because of their contradiction, and because of the extremes which they represent; and they are, moreover, derived from special tendencies, which have nothing to do with the history. For the third Gospel postpones the calling only for the sake of being able to connect a great miracle with it, and in the midst of the narration it is betrayed that Peter has been already called. But the fourth Gospel places it early, because it wishes to represent the disciples as a booty won from the Baptist in the wilderness at the very beginning.[2] Attempts have been made, down to Bleek and Ewald, to justify the last Gospel by assuming that Jesus called a number of disciples twice—first "in a loose way" in the wilderness, and again, after their return to their Galilean every-day life, by the Lake of Gennesaret.[3] But this is a mere irrational patchwork of the two Gospels, both of which it contradicts, and both of which it robs of all dignity, because it makes the first call resultless, and the second effectual rather through the repetition than, as was actually the case, through the deep impression produced at the time. Much rather would certain traces in the third Gospel give room for the suspicion that either the Evangelists or the Apostles themselves threw back the connection with Jesus as far as possible, since the longest connection with Jesus would be the most honourable, and would also carry with it the

[1] Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16; Luke v. 1 sqq., comp. with iv. 14—44; John i. 35—52.

[2] In Luke, Peter's draught of fishes is the third of the first four great miracles of Jesus (the demoniac, Peter's mother-in-law, the draught of fishes, the leper). The fact that the healing of Peter's mother-in-law precedes the draught of fishes (as a lesser miracle), betrays the already existing intimacy between Jesus and Peter.

[3] Comp. Bleek, *Synopse*, I. p. 214. Ewald, pp. 321, 361. Also Weizsäcker, p. 403. Meyer on Matthew iv. 19 (4th ed.). Pressensé, p. 417. Caspari (p. 92) says quite arbitrarily that it is a mistake to suppose the Apostles were always with Jesus. After a time they returned to their homes and their businesses. At most was it otherwise during the last year. As a rule, Peter was with Jesus only in Galilee; and John chiefly in Jerusalem, where his house was!

highest legitimation. This probability could be strengthened by the demands in this direction which later were actually made upon Apostles, and by the attempts to establish in this way the superiority of the old Apostles over Paul. It could also be strengthened by the fact that the Gospels give, on the one hand, no certain information as to the period at which most of the disciples first attached themselves to Jesus, and that singularly enough they apply, on the other hand, the title of first-called to those very disciples who afterwards were the most prominent in the apostolic times.[1] Nevertheless, this assumption would not be tenable. Not merely does the Acts of the Apostles, certainly on the authority of older sources, assume the choosing of the disciples to have taken place at the very beginning of Jesus' ministry, after his baptism by John; but the Gospels themselves, in so many unassailable notices—as, notably, in the early narrative of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, then in Peter's later appeal to their long time of service, and also in Jesus' warning against confidence and pride in the first called—show that this connection took place early. And finally, there is no probability whatever in the opinion that Jesus did not, until late in his ministry, determine to gather disciples around him, or that it was not until later rather than earlier that he met with the most congenial and most sympathetic natures.[2] Only one thing can be admitted, viz., that the calls of Jesus were not exhausted at the very beginning. The Gospels show a certain inclination to assume the early completeness of the circle of disciples; at the same time, however, they are full of indications that the

[1] The disciples companions of Jesus from the beginning, Acts i. 21. Comp. 1 Cor. ix. 1. Clem. *Hom.* 17, 19: ὕλῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐγρηγορόσι παραμένων ὡμίλησεν ὁ διδάσκαλος (against Paul). Uncertainty as to time of calling of the individual disciples: the Gospels assume the existence of twelve Apostles, but they give exact information respecting only five, Matt. iv. 18 sqq., ix. 9; indefinite, viii. 19 sqq.; Luke ix. 57 sqq. The most prominent are the first. As such appear later, Peter, Andrew, James, John; comp. Matt. xvii. 1; Mark xiii. 3; Gal. ii. 9; Acts iii. 11, xii. 2 sq. The same, however, are the first called, Matt. iv. 18.

[2] Acts i. 21; Matt. viii. 14, xix. 27, 30, xx. 1 sqq.; Luke xxii. 28.

calls of so-called Apostles were continued for some time, and of disciples even down to the journey to Jerusalem.[1]

In general, Jesus sought children of the people, not wise men and Scribes, even though such stood at his disposal in Galilee. The detailed catalogue of his disciples will show this; and even without that evidence, it would be supposed that a teacher who consciously and completely stood outside the Schools, and who made experience and nature his chief studies, would seek among fishermen and peasants the piety that was congenial to him, and the three special qualifications of discipleship which he insisted upon—humility, sincerity, and prudence.[2]

The mode of calling is peculiarly characteristic. There is little preparation, little mutual acquaintance, little explanation; abruptly and sharply the cry is heard, "Follow me!" "Come after me!" "Be fishers of men!" "Preach the kingdom of heaven!" And the called must break themselves off from their daily vocations, must leave father and mother, wife and child, house and home, boat and seat of customs; and they must continue in the retinue of the Master who carries the kingdom of heaven through Galilee, and has neither ear nor heart for excuse or delay. If one wishes to return and to bid farewell to those who are at home, the answer is, "No one, having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." If another asks for leave to perform the most righteous duty, one approved by God and man, "Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father," Jesus insists inexorably, "Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead!"[3]

There is an enigma in these callings. Jesus is severer than the zealous and impetuous Elijah of the Old Testament, who

[1] The circle of Apostles completed, comp. Matt. v. 1, viii. 23, &c.; Mark i. 36, ii. 18, 23, iii. 9; Luke v. 33, vi. 1. Continuous calling, Matt. viii. 19, ix. 9, xix. 21; and especially Luke ix. 57.

[2] Matt. x. 16, xviii. 3.

[3] Matt. viii. 18 sqq., and the rest of the passages. According to the Rabbis, the performance of funeral rites dispensed from the study of the Law: in deducendo funere cessat studium legis. Schöttgen, p. 91.

permitted Elisha, the son of Shaphat, to kiss his father and mother.[1] And he is severer than, and inconsistent with, himself: does he not blame the Pharisees for abrogating by their teaching the command of God to honour father and mother? And, what is yet more weighty, is not his whole ministry distinguished from that of John by foresight, prudence, deliberation, and respect for all and every kind of relationship?[2] Instead of leading the people into the wilderness, does he not seek them in their towns and villages and houses, and does he not preach a doctrine which requires no neglect of field and vineyard and handicraft? And yet he demands from his followers a Johannine renunciation and exodus.

Here is enough to excite astonishment and to lead us to believe in a later obscuration of the history. There might have been a desire to assimilate Jesus to the character of Elijah, and to outbid the severe by the severer. Perhaps, without any reference to the Old Testament, Jesus' incisive sentence, "He who loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me," has been violently transferred from the province of inner thought and sentiment to the outer province of fact, and made the ground of an insistance upon actual breach and separation.[3] Perhaps, again without any perversion of his words, it has been inferred from a plastic expression in the imperious representative of a later higher conception of Jesus, that Jesus saw into men's minds when he looked at them, and that by this means he exercised power over the minds of men, as in his miracles he did over diseases and demons.[4] But these reasonings are insufficient. Jesus' words of summons are too copiously and too unanimously attested; they are not at variance, but in harmony, with his sayings about the love of father and mother; and they are throughout stamped with the impress of his spirit. The ex-

[1] 1 Kings xix. 19 sq. Comp. Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 370.

[2] Matt. xv. 4 sqq.

[3] Matt. x. 37.

[4] John i. 43, 48, ii. 25, vi. 70; Luke iv. 36; Mark i. 27. Renan, p. 162, tricks of superhuman knowledge.

ample of Elijah stood before his eyes; but it could occur only to himself to be severer than Elijah, for a later time would have been pleased to portray him—as it did in other things—as milder.[1] Moreover, it must in general be admitted that, with all his reticence and with all his mildness, he was in many respects a zealot like John. Though less enthusiastic in the Messianic agitation, he yielded nothing in the heroism of moral demands on himself and on others. It may even be said that the haste, the unrest, the self-denial, the relinquishment of the earthly, which John imposed upon the whole nation, Jesus, in a certain sense, in a more spiritualized manner, and not exactly with the feverish hurry which Mark makes a characteristic of the whole of his ministry, made obligatory upon himself and his companions. While the movement of the masses was frustrated by force from without and by want of fitness within, his obvious resource was the germ community, its rapid formation, its spirit of self-sacrifice in the service of the kingdom of God, which kingdom was to flow from the heart into the members. For such ends did Jesus seize upon men; it was necessary to take the susceptible by storm, and to recognize their unresistingness, their devotedness, their readiness to sacrifice themselves, as proofs of their capacity for the great vocation, and doubtless also as signs of the divine election and appointment.[2]

The abruptness and harshness of the call are, however, in many ways mitigated; although the call can by no means be so lowered in character as to be made to involve merely spiritual resolutions without a forsaking of the ordinary vocation.[3] In the

[1] Comp. only the originality of the utterance in Matt. viii. 21. Volkmar (*Ev.*) has naturally explained the calling of the disciples by the Old Testament. As Elijah called Elisha out of the wilderness, so did Jesus (p. 77). It is a pity that in the case of Jesus there lies a space between the desert and the calling! The fisher-calling is after Elijah's pattern (p. 83), but the utterance of Jesus is possible (p. 79).

[2] Luke xiv. 31.

[3] Volkmar, p. 148. He asks if the publican would have left his duty? Already Weisse (I. p. 390) had discovered that it is only the uncultured, materializing manner in which our Gospels give detailed events.

first place, the scenes in question exhibit nothing that is out of character with Oriental life, and with the mobility and enthusiastic precipitancy which we meet with even in the history of the Rabbis.[1] In the next place, the calls and their results admit of certain adjustments. It is true the called are taken by surprise, as Elisha was when called by Elijah; and nothing at all is said about lengthy acquaintanceships, which have been merely inserted. But the look, the word, half command, half powerfully suggestive enticement, as in the case of Peter, possessed in and of themselves a motive power, and did not need the stronger attractions of miraculous works or long sermons or marvellous words of omniscient revealings, which the later authors, Luke and John, have added, to the obscuration of the genuine spiritual means, and the degradation of the true superiority and elevation of Jesus. At the same time, the immediate reverence paid to Jesus by the new disciples falls therewith away, the reverence which betrays the wonderfully impressive influence of his greatness upon the most narrow-minded of men. The disciples did not by any means follow the recognized Holy One or even the Messiah of Israel, as John represents, but simply the Galilean teacher.[2] In many cases there preceded a detailed explanation, or a lengthy conversation, or a miracle of healing, and then came the "Follow me!" or the preceding incident was consummated by the following of the disciples. Moreover, it gradually came to pass that many volunteered to follow, though not without having heard the preaching of Jesus, or seen the group of disciples.[3] In the cases of Peter and others, no preparation is reported; but there is nothing to exclude the probability that the fame of Jesus, which preceded him as he journeyed, had reached even them, especially Peter, who lived in Capernaum itself, and had ope-

[1] Comp. *Midr. Ruth. in Soh. chad.* f. 61, 1: R. Bon in itinere constitutus fuit, quem attigit studiosus sic dicens: magister, an vis, ut comiter te in vita tua et serviam tibi in hoc itinere? Rabb. respondit: potes mecum ire. Ivit ergo post ipsum. Schöttgen, p. 89.

[2] Luke v. 1; John i. 41 sqq.

[3] Matt. viii. 18, xix. 16.

rated as an attractive force; for Luke has prefaced the calling not only with miracles, but also with a sermon to the people.[1] Less intelligible, because apparently less prepared for, is the call on the part of Jesus. If he did not know the men, how was he in a position to call them? Here one might be inclined either to ascribe a higher nature to Jesus, or to question his prudence. Such a higher nature Jesus did not possess, although the fourth Gospel asserts that he did; the evidences that his knowledge possessed human limitations are only too certainly present in the history, and they are found in the very composition of the circle of the disciples, which ultimately contained few superior minds equal to Paul, the Apostle of the Spirit, but which contained a Judas, concerning the choosing of whom the fourth Gospel cannot offer anything satisfactory.[2] It does not, however, directly follow that Jesus chose without due reflection; that he was not blindly rash in his choice is proved by the fact, that instead of opening the door blindly to certain persons who were eager to follow him, he shut it against them.[3] We have long learnt to recognize in Jesus a very acute observer of nature and of men; this acute observation depended upon a presentient and penetrating glance, and by means of practice was perfected to a masterly faculty of instantaneous understanding and unriddling of men, of their thoughts, of their sentiments, a faculty which he sufficiently exhibited either in word or deed during the period of his ministry, in his relations with the disciples, the infirm, the Pharisees, the Sanhedrim, Pilate, and perhaps also Antipas. This presentient faculty is the true substratum in the exaggeration of the fourth Gospel, and is once in that very Gospel more finely expressed than anywhere else.[4] But not even in the calling of Peter can the exact boundary-line of presentiment and observation be restored; for we are told nothing to make it impossible that Jesus, walking by the lake, had watched the

[1] Matt. v. 1.

[2] On the foreknowledge of Jesus, see the concluding section. Judas, John vi. 70.

[3] Matt. viii. 18 sqq.

[4] John ii. 24.

fishermen in their working and their talking before he called them. But to Jesus' presentient faculty and his acute observation must be added a principle, the influence of which is not to be under-estimated. On every occasion he made his choice in reliance upon God, in the grand belief, to which all the Gospels —and particularly John and the Gospel of the Hebrews—bear witness, a belief which Jesus perhaps expressly symbolized in the name of Nathanael, the belief that God would direct to him his own; and in the unhesitating obedience to his call he recognized the divine confirmation of his choice.[1] Finally, as to the harshness of the call. It is not the case that Jesus monopolized his followers' whole earthly existence, whether in the service of the kingdom of God, or indeed—of which nothing is said—in a Johannine fasting and penitent retirement from the world. The essential requirements of the call were an unconditional resolve and a readiness to subordinate in all cases the lower, the earthly, to the higher, to the kingdom of God, to its claims and its duties; the call did not prevent the disciples from continuing to hold possession of the property which they quitted, nor from remaining in the neighbourhood of the home from which they had come out, nor did it prevent Peter from returning, accompanied by Jesus, to the house in which sickness called for the help of Jesus.[2] The best proof of this is found in the discipleship of well-to-do and rich persons, in the entrance of Jesus into their houses, and in the evidence of the guest-friendship between those persons and Jesus. Similar proof is found in apostolic times, in the custom of the Apostles and brothers of the Lord of living and travelling with their wives, not quite in the spirit of Jesus, and yet certainly not altogether in contradiction to his teaching.[3] On the other hand,

[1] John vi. 44, x. 29, xvii. 2, &c. The Gospel of the Hebrews, Eusebius, Theoph. 4, 12: eligam mihi bonos, quos pater m. cœl. dedit. Nathanael means—like Jonathan—"God has given."

[2] Matt. viii. 14, xix. 27. General rules, x. 37, xix. 12.

[3] Matt. viii. 14, ix. 10; 1 Cor. ix. 5. Clem. *Strom.* 3, 6, 52, mentions children of Peter and Philip.

the opinion recently given forth with the view of throwing light upon the gospel question—the opinion, viz., that the Apostles, retaining their secular callings, accompanied Jesus only occasionally, Peter in Asia, John in Judæa and Jerusalem—is without any proof whatever.[1]

Pretty unanimously, in all the Gospels, the first called are Simon bar Jona, the future Peter, with his brother Andrew, and a second pair of brothers, James and John.[2] The two pair are everywhere brought more or less into connection. From the earlier reports of Matthew, it is seen that these callings of the two pair of fishermen are simply thrown together, just as are the two cases of healing on the Sabbath. Mark brings them mutually nearer, making the first and second calling lie only a "few steps" apart; and Luke regards the two parties as an association of fishermen. Finally, the fourth Gospel gives an ingenious modification of the narrative, by which the pairs cross, and the Baptist's disciples, Andrew and his companion—evidently John—lead their brothers Simon and James to Jesus.[3] Simon—or Simeon—and Andrew, the one mentioned by his Jewish, the other by his Greek name, in the genuine spirit of the then prevalent mingling of the languages, were the adult sons of a fisherman, John [Johannes], or in an abbreviated form Jona, of Capernaum, or, according to the fanciful tradition of the fourth Gospel, of Bethsaida, i.e. Little Sidon, or Fish-Houses, the haven of Capernaum according to the fancy of recent harmonists.[4] Fishing and the conveyance of salted fish formed, with

[1] Caspari, p. 92. According to Renan also (p. 150), they remained in their former occupations.

[2] Simon = Shimeon (hearing with acceptance). Besides the Si(y)meon in Luke ii. 25 and in Acts xiii. 1, Peter himself now and then is thus called, Acts xv. 14; 2 Pet. i. 1. The name Simon very frequent, comp. Wilke-Grimm's *Lexikon*. Also Josephus, ed. Dind. Both names also in the Talmud. Meyer on Acts xv. 14. On Barjona, see below, note 4. On the name Peter, see the scene at Cæsarea Philippi.

[3] Matt. iv. 18; Luke v. 1; Mark i. 16; John i. 35.

[4] Andrew (Andreas, the manly, the brave, from *ἀνδρεία*, *ἀνδρία*), a name found also in Herodotus, Plutarch, Pausanias. The father's name rightly John, John i. 43 [A. V. ver. 42], xxi. 15. Also in the Gospel of the Hebrews, see Origen on Matt.

agriculture, the chief occupations of this lake district.[1] The father was well-to-do, and Simon, evidently the elder of the sons, had his own house at Capernaum, where he lived with his wife and mother-in-law.[2] The other pair of disciples were the sons of Zebedee, Hebrew Zabdai, in the Galilean dialect also Tabdai, and their mother was Salôme, who was thus related by name with two Herodian princesses, but distinguished from them by the fervour and glow of the religious convictions which her like-minded sons inherited. This household also was purely Israelitish, and belonged to the well-to-do, according to Ewald to the rich. The relationship of Jesus with Salôme is a later fable.[3] The place of abode of the family is not definitely mentioned, though it was probably also Capernaum. Caspari has dreamt of a house and residence at Jerusalem. James almost invariably appears as the elder of the two brothers, and he is distinguished from a second James by being called "the elder." Both the brothers are youthful in nature, even more so than Peter; and they appear to have been unmarried, and to have clung to their mother with unbroken affection.[4]

xix. 24: Simon, fili Johanne. Comp. Hilgenfeld, *Hebr. Ev.* 16, 17, 25. Matt. xvi. 17: Simon bar Jona. On the contraction of the name, see above, Vol. II. p. 205, note. Bethsaida, John i. 45 [A. V. ver. 44]. On this name, probably suggested by Matt. iv. 19, comp. Späth, *Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 325. Haven, Caspari, p. 110.

[1] Strabo, 16, 2 (particularly Tarichæa).

[2] Matt. xix. 27, viii. 14. Peter, the elder, Matt. iv. 18; on the contrary, John i. 45 [44]. Peter's wife, according to tradition, Concordia or Perpetua; his daughter, Petronilla.

[3] In the Old Testament, Zabdi (my gift), Zebadiah and Zebadiahu, Greek Ζαβδί Ζαβ(α)δίας (gift of God), from zabad, zebed = gift. Adjective form *ai* (comp. Grimm, *Stud u. Krit.* 1870, pp. 723 sqq.), here with the significance of the given one, frequent in personal names (Old Test.: Barzillai, Shammai, Ittai, Chosai, Haggai, Zakkai, Talmai; comp. also Mattai, Nakai, Chalpai). In rare instances (comp. Ittai), in the form of the imperfect, is *ai* an abbreviation of Jahve. Salome was the name of the sister of king Herod and the daughter of Herodias (Talmud, Salminôn, Derembourg, *Essai*, p. 165). Her name, Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1, comp. Matt. xxvii. 56. Religious fervour, Matt. xx. 20, xxvii. 56. Well-to-do, Mark i. 20; according to Chrysostom (*Hom.* I. on John), poor. The tradition that Salome and Jesus were related, see below, p. 277, end of note.

[4] James, the elder: he stands before John in the list of Apostles in Matthew, Luke, and Mark, and also in Matt. xvii. 1 and Mark ix. 2; after John, in Acts i. 13; Luke

The well-known scene at the lake is characteristic both of Jesus himself and of his first disciples. As was his custom, Jesus, in the midst of the fishermen and their occupations, read the spiritual in the material, and the divine in the human. The fishing in the lake was, in his mind's eye, a picture of the fishing in the kingdom of God, and out of the picture there grew the reality; what the fishermen symbolized, that could they become, that were they to become, that had the Father appointed to him and to them; all this was confirmed by the glance which showed him how vigorously, how ungrudgingly, and how earnestly their young strength was put forth to save their father from toil. A word, a Yes or a No, must determine whether they were willing, whether it was God's will that they should then and there join him in his work of love and labour. Hence he called authoritatively, not interrogatively, but with the voice of one who insists upon obedience, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men!"[1] And the word, the command, the confidence, the offer, the richly suggestive, obscurely clear promise of the new teacher of Galilee entered their souls like a new force; their young and ardent minds were at the beginning, as afterwards, susceptible, reflecting the higher impression, inspired, resolved; they let the nets fall, they brought their ship to land, they left boat and father and "all," and followed Jesus. It is true that a little later they brought both mother and mother-in-law to Jesus. In the brief and striking narration in Matthew and Mark there is little to take objection to. It may indeed be said that perhaps a later age has added a heightened colouring to the accession of "the fishermen," has in the quick resolve characterized the resolute Peter, the blustering sons of thunder, has ascribed to Peter, the prince of the Apostles, the throwing away of the nets and connected with his name the characteristic promise, and to the

ix. 28 (comp. ix. 49; Mark ix. 38). The younger James, Mark xv. 40. Youthful, Matt. xx. 20; Mark iii. 17. Unmarried, also according to Ewald, p. 396. According to the apocryphal πράξ. Ιω. 21, Jesus thrice prevented the παρθένος [masc.] from marrying.

[1] Fishers in the second sense, Jer. xvi. 16.

sons of Zebedee has ascribed the net-mending and the promiseless obedience. But of what force are these far-fetched suppositions against the artless simplicity of the history, and against the fact that in two lines the history shows the actual nature of Jesus and of these disciples, and that it hands down to us in the words of Jesus a genuine jewel of *his* mental opulence? So much the more unhesitatingly, indeed, is the artificial narrative of Luke to be given up.[1] There everything is changed: instead of the solitude, there is a gathering of the people on the shore of the lake; instead of the active fishing, there are the fishermen on the dry bank, washing their nets, and only at Jesus' bidding rowing a little way from land in order that he may teach from the boat; there is ultimately an active and resolute engagement in fishing; but the incident is miraculous, for Peter, against his will, but under the pressure of Jesus' words, takes his vessel into the open lake, and the catch of fish is so great that the nets break and the two vessels begin to sink. "Depart from me, O Lord!" now cries Simon, awed by the presence of the holy, the divine, miracle-working man, whose proximity may be fatal to him; "I am a sinful man!"[2] "Fear not," answers Jesus; "from henceforth shalt thou be a fisher of men!" Thus Jesus does not depart, but Jesus with Peter, who follows him with his companions that are certainly caught by the miracle, not by Jesus' words. Herein lies the main weakness of this narration; rich and sublime as it is, it does not rise nearly to the sublimity of the first simple tradition. But, apart from this, it is full of subtle and ingenious invention. The great utterance of Jesus, which needs no illustration, is painted in a material picture. The world-mission of the Apostles, the mission, according to Luke's standpoint, not only of Paul but also of Peter, the only bearer of a promise among his companions, is in a striking manner symbolized by

[1] Against Schleiermacher, Neander, Bleek, Ammon, Sieffert, who prefer the account of Luke, the more recent criticism—including even Meyer—is unanimous that Luke contains later tradition.

[2] Peter's fear, comp. Exod. xxxiii. 20; Judges xiii. 22: we must die, because we have seen God. Luke i. 22. On nature-miracles, see below.

the steering out into the open lake, by the great quantity of fish, by the initial disinclination, and by the ultimate alarm of the narrow-minded Jew with reference to the work which God has performed through his instrumentality. Finally, the confession of the sinner is plainly but the prelude to the later complementary confession from the same mouth that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God. The historical character of the narration collapses under the weight of so much that is artificial; indeed, it is already destroyed by the fact that the narration contradicts the earlier and—despite Schleiermacher, Ammon, and Neander—much superior tradition, and hence the assertion risked by Storr in the interest of the letter of the Bible —that it is another, a second, later narrative, presumably the third narrative of a calling of Peter—is an impossibility, or more correctly a childish play of fancy.[1]

In four of his calls, Jesus addressed himself to the well-to-do and respectable among the people; in the fifth, in that of the publican Matthew or Levi, he addressed himself to the despised and lost of the people, to the "second party," if we adopt Josephus' later description of the political-social factions of Galilee.[2] The name is here of little moment; the first Gospel calls the publican Matthew (Mattai, or the Given); the second and third call him Levi (Levis), son of Alphæus or Chalpai, and they do this indeed without any suspicion of his identity with Matthew the subsequent Apostle.[3] Several manuscripts of Mark, drawing

[1] Luke v. 1 and Acts x. 9 sqq., parallel narratives.

[2] Josephus, *Vit.* 9. Indeed, he reckons the mariners also among the second party, *ib.* 11, 12. Längin (p. 45) errs in saying that the Apostles were chosen from the humblest classes.

[3] Matt. ix. 9 (x. 3). On the other hand, Luke v. 27; Mark ii. 14 (comp. Luke vi. 15; Mark iii. 18). The oldest codices, Ματθαῖος (thus Lachm. and Tisch.); another reading, τθ. The Hebrew word scarcely Mattatiah, Mattiah (Gift of Jahve), for from this word comes Matthia, Acts i. 23 (thus Volkmar); but (Aram.) Mattai, the Given One, comp. Mattan, Mattat). Ewald, and Hitzig (*Kl. Proph.* 3rd ed. 1863, p. 164), abbreviation from Amittai (truthful). Grimm, *Lex.* and *Stud. l. c.* from Mat = man, manly. Levi (LXX. Levi, Levei), in Luke and Mark, Levis or Leveis (long $i = ei$, as in Eleias, Jaeiros, Eloei, Gethsemanei). Son of Alphæus, Mark ii. 14.

an inference from the father's name, mention James the son of Alphæus.[1] Some suppose that the first Gospel has made a mistake; and others, that Luke and Mark were not acquainted with the real, the second name of the publican, who before his conversion to Jesus or afterwards may have been called also Mattai, since the first Gospel seems in fact to suggest a duality of names. The former supposition is the more probable one; for while it is not likely that Luke and Mark should be utterly ignorant upon the subject, the application of a tangible narrative of conversion to an Apostle whose name only was known is quite intelligible, and particularly the application of a narrative of a publican's conversion to an Apostle who was at least said to be a publican-Apostle.[2] But whether Levi and Matthew the Apostle be identical or not, the significant points in this narrative are to be found in the principle of not only preaching to, but also drawing disciples from, the sunken classes, in Jesus' prompt action following his quick glance of penetration, and finally in the opening of a new and large mission-field by a single call. These receivers of taxes, these inferior organs of such an oppressive system of imposts as existed in Jewish Galilee as well as in Roman Jerusalem, were, on account of their extortions, frauds, and coarse and vicious habits, the object of the hatred and con-

[1] Cod. Bez., Codd. ap. Orig. Ital. Plainly a correction in order to obtain an Apostle.

[2] The expression in the first Gospel, "called" Matthew, certainly points rather to a second than to an original name. Bleek (*Synopse*, I. p. 385) rejects this explanation and quotes Matt. ii. 23 (to which can be added xxvi. 36, xxvii. 33); but in most of the passages in the Gospel the expression refers to a surname, comp. i. 16, iv. 18, x. 2, xxvi. 14, xxvii. 16, 17; but, on the other hand, see xxvii. 32, 57. Notwithstanding, I hold it probable that the first Gospel, or its corrector, identified the actual Apostle Matthew, who also was a publican or was supposed by the writer to be such (x. 3), with the obscure Levi, of whose apostleship Luke and Mark had not the slightest suspicion, Thus also Bleek and Grimm. Baumgarten-Crusius, Fritzsche, Meyer, and Olshausen, assume the simple identity. That they were two distinct persons was held by Heracleon in Clem. *Strom.* 4, 9; Origen, *C. Cels.* 1, 13, and in modern times by Grotius, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Sieffert, Neander, Ewald (Bleek, p. 385), it being assumed by some that Jesus called both contemporaneously, or (Neander) that he called Matthew, while the entertainment was provided by the rich and friendly-disposed publican (farmer-general of the revenues, Grotius, Michaelis), according to which supposition Luke and Mark would be in error.

tempt of all the populations.[1] Cicero, in his "Offices," denounced the occupations of the receivers of harbour dues and the usurers as disreputable branches of business which aroused the hatred of mankind. Lucian saw farmers of the revenues in the society of adulterers, keepers of brothels, parasites, and perjurers, among the crowd of chained criminals arraigned before Minos, the judge of the lower world.[2] The Pharisees of the time of Jesus regarded them as unrighteous and sinners, and even Jesus classed them together with Gentiles and harlots. The Talmud places them on a level with robbers, and forbids the receiving of their alms, their money, or their evidence in a court of justice. It was a rare exception when a town in Asia Minor dedicated a statue to the emperor Vespasian's father with the inscription, "To the Good Publican!" or when Josephus lauded the publican John of Cæsarea as defender of the interests of religion, or when the Talmud praised the Rabbi Zeira for lessening instead of increasing the burdens of the people.[3] From this class Jesus drew a disciple. In the neighbourhood of Capernaum he finds himself opposite a custom-house which collects the imposts upon the lake-commerce between the opposite coast of the tetrarchy of Philip—now Roman—and the Syrian Decapolis. The publican who sits at the receipt of customs is a Jew. A glance, a word, and Jesus recognizes the sinner, but he recognizes also the son of Abraham, in whom repentance and hope may be excited. He needs no long deliberation to lead him to a decision; sent to the lost, he is influenced by no personal or public scruples, by no prejudices, by no fear of the misconstruction of the age or of the spiritual leaders of the age; but he makes the lost his familiar, makes him the incarnation of his love for sinners, and through him increases the strength of the kingdom of God. "Follow me!" he cries, and the publican stands up, comes forward, and

[1] Comp. Matt. v. 46, ix. 11, xviii. 17, xxi. 32.

[2] Cicero, *Off.* 1, 42; Lucian, *Menipp.* 11.

[3] καλῶς τελωνήσαντι, Suet. *Vesp.* 1; Josephus, *B. J.* 2, 14, 4; Lightfoot, pp. 295 sq., 344.

follows Jesus; and the second birth of the sinner, and the new, world-embracing principle, are crowned by a festive meal in the house of Jesus, a meal which spontaneously develops into a feast of fraternization with publicans and sinners. For the outcasts of society, solely Jews, and by no means Gentiles, as Hilgenfeld and Volkmar suppose in order to render the narrative untenably doubtful, Jews who are certainly Pharisaically unclean, perceive the new Master's recognition and his exhibition of confidence, and hasten to his house in troops, recline with him at table, and with him wait to hear what will be said by the saints who are closely watching him.[1]

Besides the five calls which are connected with distinct names, there are related, some earlier and some later, a number of nameless ones, exhibiting several peculiarities. The dates cannot be fixed with certainty, except in the case of the reputedly rich young man, whose conversation with Jesus belongs to the journey towards Jerusalem.[2] The other incidents are arranged according to the judgment of the authors; by Matthew they are made to precede an ante-dated voyage across the lake to Gadara, and by Luke the later departure for Jerusalem. Internal evidences would show Matthew to be at any rate nearer to the truth than Luke.[3] Two of these incidents exhibit calls by Jesus, and two voluntary offers to follow. In two cases, there is a successful issue, though there are accompanying hindrances; while the accounts of the other two cases point to the absence of the intended result, in the first at the instance of Jesus, and in the second at the instance of the person volunteering.[4] Jesus'

[1] The meal in the house of Jesus, Matt. ix. 10; Mark ii. 15; in the house of Levi, Luke v. 29. Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 392) also thus explains Matthew's words. Luke might have been led to his representation by the ἐσθ. μετά. Publicans as Gentiles, Hilgenfeld, *ib.* p. 393; Volkmar, p. 145.

[2] Matt. xix. 16.

[3] Matt. viii. 19; Luke ix. 57. Schenkel (p. 172) for Luke; Samaritans called!

[4] Call, Luke ix. 59 (Matt. viii. 21); Matt. xix. 16, 21. Voluntary offer, Matt. viii. 19; Luke ix. 61. Successful issue, Matt. viii. 19, comp. 21; the contrary, Luke ix. 61; Matt. xix. 22.

hesitancy to receive those who offered themselves is in striking contrast with the unqualified directness and assurance which marked his calls. A Scribe approached him: "Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest!" Jesus, without rejecting him, spoke in such a way as to moderate his zeal—"The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head."[1] Another said, "I will follow thee, Lord; but let me first take leave of those who are at home." "No man," answered Jesus, repellingly, "who puts his hand to the plough and looks back, is fit for the kingdom of God."[2] According to Luke and Mark, Jesus also declined the discipleship of a healed demoniac for somewhat similar reasons, although he based no fixed rule upon such reasons. This incident is, however, weakly attested.[3] On the other hand, in the case of one whom he had called, Jesus persisted in the call, and would permit no delay. The request, "Lord, let me first go and bury my father," he met by an emphatic repetition of the call, which is all the more intelligible in the face of the long duration of the Jewish funeral solemnities, "Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead," let the dead spirits bury the dead bodies.[4] Attempts have been made, from early times, to connect Apostles' names with these calls, as the first Gospel has done for Levi. Since, in the lists of the Apostles, the four first-called repeatedly have the first four places, and Bartholomew and Philip the fifth and sixth, Hilgenfeld—following the precedent of the Alexandrine Clement, who tried in this way to make the Gospels harmonize—has assumed that the fifth and sixth disciples in the

[1] Matt. viii. 19.

[2] Luke ix. 61. Not dependent upon 1 Kings xix. 19, 20.

[3] Luke viii. 38; Mark v. 18 (on the other hand, Matt. viii. 34). Compare Luke viii. 2.

[4] Matt. viii. 22. Comp. the obligation of filial piety, Tobit iv. 3, xiv. 10, 11. Mourning seven days, Ecclesiasticus xxii. 11 [12]; Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 8, 4. Even thirty days, ib. *B. J.* 3, 9, 5. Fritzsche understood the dead in both cases in a material sense; but then the paradox is not so well conceived as when the word is in the first case taken in a spiritual sense. Comp. above, the description of sin, p. 94; also Matt. iv. 16. Talmud: impii dicuntur mortui: Schöttgen, p. 877.

series of Matthew are the two above mentioned, though he places them in a different order than that of the Gospel, and makes Bartholomew the Scribe and Philip the man mourning for the death of his father.[1] But since Matthew himself is not able to give any name, and since he does not pretend to give either the total number of the calls or their exact sequence, it is useless to attempt here to discover the names of the called by mere sagacity. For we are at least equally justified in finding Thomas in the melancholy mourner; and in the Scribe, certainly not—with Lange—Judas Iscariot, but Simon the Zealot.

The Gospel of John has been referred to incidentally. Let us here remind ourselves that that Gospel offers another and a much richer narration of calls than do its predecessors. With the two pair of brothers, we are already in another atmosphere. Instead of Galilee, we have Judæa; instead of the lake, the wilderness; instead of fishers, John's disciples; instead of Jesus' call, a coming to Jesus at the direction of the Baptist. Instead of the precedence of one pair of disciples, we have a mixing of the two pair, an arrangement favoured by some of the lists of the Apostles; instead of Simon being the first, we have first John and Andrew; instead of the brief call to follow, conversations and miracles of knowledge; instead of mute and submissive compliance with the bidding of the inexplicable teacher, acknowledgments of the Messiah of Israel. We renounce the details given in the first chapter of John; we recognize the sublimity of the narrative, but we have seen that the details are fantastic and altogether unhistorical.[2] What we have to do here is merely to find an explanation of this divergence from the other accounts. It is explicable on many grounds, but chiefly as due to the intention of magnifying the picture of Jesus, and of exalting, not Peter,

[1] Clem. *Strom.* 3, 4, 25, takes the mourner to be Philip, Hilgenfeld takes the Scribe to be Bartholomew, *Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 391. Comp. Matt. x. 3; John i. 44. Others, indeed, adopt different opinions; Lange (*L. J.* II. p. 651) takes the Scribe to be Judas Iscariot, and the other Thomas.

[2] See above, Vol. II. pp. 301 sqq.

but the disciple who was actually the first one, John, the patron of the Gospel. To the former purpose is due the immediate entrance of Jesus into the inheritance of the Baptist, Jesus' early power of attraction, the miracle of supernatural knowledge with regard to the names and characters of his disciples, and the miracle of the recognition of Jesus by the disciples, who are made to confess, even prematurely, the Great One whom they see before them. To the latter intention is due the transposition of the order of the disciples. John, and apparently quite impartially Andrew, the brother of Peter, are placed first; both are favourite disciples of the Baptist, both lead their brothers to Jesus, and Andrew—not Peter, the confessor—confesses Jesus as the Messiah, and confesses him to Peter.[1] Peter is a laggard; he does not confess Jesus; and though he is distinguished by an utterance of Jesus, which points to both the past and the future, predicting that Simon, the son of Johannes, shall in the future be called Cephas or the Rock, yet he is at least not nominated the rock of the congregation, to which position Jesus actually appointed him, though certainly very much later.[2] If any one says that Peter was nevertheless honoured, and that John was not distinguished, the subsequent history distinctly shows how the throwing of Peter into the background and the bringing of John into the foreground have, in this Gospel, grown out of this modest initial preference. In view of so much that is arbitrary, one can have little faith in the new and until now quite unknown disciple-calling of this Gospel. To the two pair of brothers is added a pair of friends. The four are won in the evening; on the following morning the two are added. Philip, connected with the first pair of brothers by their common place of residence, Bethsaida, receives, from the mere call of Jesus, the impression that the latter is the one whom Moses and the pro-

[1] John i. 35 sqq.

[2] Many arbitrarily assume that John i. 43 [42] (future) simply refers to Matt. xvi. 21 sqq. (comp. John vi. 68), as to something future. The unhistorical account is based on Mark iii. 16.

phets had promised. At the commencement of Jesus' journey towards Galilee, towards Cana, Philip finds Nathanael, who, probably on this account, is, in the spurious appendix to this Gospel, said to be of Cana.[1] Nathanael scoffs at the man of Galilee whom Philip introduces to him; but how penetrating is the glance of Jesus, who finds in the scoffer the true Israelite without guile, and who reminds him of the seat under the fig-tree, which Nathanael had occupied before his interview with Philip. Now Nathanael also cries, "Son of God! King of Israel!" But Jesus tells him of greater things in prospect—an open heaven, and the angels of God descending upon the Son of Man. In this sublime narrative also, actual history will not be looked for by those who discover here not only the unhistorical character of the localities and the date, but the same unhistorical fundamental motives, great miracles and great confessions, which they discovered in the call of the four. Special disclosures are not to be looked for in this narrative, except perhaps that the name of Nathanael—i. e. God has given—indicates the way in which Jesus obtained his disciples, viz., by God's gift and direction. Neither Nathanael nor Bartholomew—with whom he is probably identical—is mentioned again in the Gospels, the fourth included; Philip, on the other hand, is again mentioned, at least in the fourth.[2] Doubtless, therefore, these narrations are free compositions, the outcome of the desire to give copiousness to the history of the calls, and especially to render the call of those who stand fifth and sixth in the lists of the Apostles more tangible, and to give to them a position equal to that of the four neighbours.

We turn back, therefore, disabused, to the earlier Gospels. Among the number of the disciples called, but whose names are not specially given, are to be reckoned all the Twelve except the

[1] John xxi. 2, plainly with reference to i. 45 sq.

[2] More in detail under the choosing of the Apostles. Hilgenfeld would identify Nathanael with Matthew or Matthias. To the "Given," or the "Gift of God," or the "Truthful" (see above, p. 265), John i. 48 [47] would apply.

five with whom we are already acquainted. But the number of Jesus' chosen and voluntary followers was evidently considerably more than twelve. Luke and Mark are the writers who speak most distinctly of a larger circle of disciples. They know of a "multitude of disciples;" and Luke reports a two-fold choosing of twelve and then a choosing of seventy, whom Jesus selected from the great mass of the disciples. In the Acts, again, Luke tells us of gatherings in Jerusalem which amounted to 120 members—after the death and resurrection of the Lord, it is true.[1] But Matthew also, here and there, points to a wider circle, which Hilgenfeld in vain refuses to find in this author.[2] Though in most instances Matthew may have intended the term "the disciples" to include simply the well-known twelve, yet he must have had a wider circle in view when he writes of the offers of volunteers, of the selection of the twelve, of the visit of Jesus' mother to the circle of the disciples, of the call to the rich young man, of the Galilean women, and of Jesus' friends at Bethany and Jerusalem.[3] And in addition to the early witnesses, the Apostle Paul knew of a community of above 500 brethren immediately after the departure of the Lord.[4] Naturally, this circle would be in a state of perpetual transformation and change; it increased with tolerable rapidity, and decreased again in the times of conflict; it formed a fluctuating middle party between the more intimate disciples and the popular following, being distinguished from the latter principally by a more persistent attendance upon Jesus and by a more personal intercourse.[5] Names have been invented for these disciples

[1] Luke vi. 13, 17, vii. 11, x. 1, 22, 23, xix. 37, xxiv. 9 (comp. xxii. 28); Acts i. 15; Mark ii. 15, iv. 10, 34. Volkmar (pp. 233, 244) has no ground for finding a wider circle in Mark iii. 13, than in verse 14. John vi. 66, vii. 3 (ii. 23, iv. 1).

[2] *Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 372.

[3] Only the twelve, Matt. x. 1 sqq., xii. 1, xiii. 10, 36, xiv. 22, xv. 12, 32, xvi. 5, 13, &c., very definitely, xxvi. 18, 20, xxviii. 16. Larger circle (v. 1 sqq.), viii. 19 sqq., xii. 49, xix. 21, xxvi. 6, 18, xxvii. 55, 57.

[4] 1 Cor. xv. 6.

[5] Matt. xxvii. 57; Luke xxii. 28; John vi. 66.

also, especially for the seventy, among whom the men of the apostolic and sub-apostolic periods are rather thoughtlessly reckoned—Barnabas, Philip, Silas, Stephen, Mark, Luke, Agabus, Sosthenes, a duplicate Peter, and even the reputed secret Christian Gamaliel.[1] Of course, these and other men—e. g. the "old disciple" Mnason, Paul's host at Jerusalem—can have been converted in the apostolic period, just as well as Alexander and Rufus, the sons of the vicarious cross-bearer, Simon of Cyrene.[2] More probable names are such as Joseph of Arimathea (Ramah), who is expressly described as a disciple at the time of Jesus' death, and who was doubtless the original of the altogether unhistorical Nicodemus of the fourth Gospel; also Matthias, Joseph, and Judas Barsabbas—both candidates for the office of Apostle rendered vacant by the death of Judas—Clopas, the father, and Joses, the brother, of the later Apostle James the younger, perhaps also the mysterious John the Presbyter, whom the second century so emphatically called a disciple of Jesus.[3] The most remarkable feature in this circle of disciples is the presence of the women, whose names have been more successfully preserved

[1] Comp., besides Acts (iv. 36, vi. 8, viii. 5, xi. 28, xii. 12, xiii. 1, xv. 22, xxi. 16), Clemens Alex. and Eusebius (1, 12; 2, 1), and the remarks on the seventy in a subsequent part of the present work. Clem. Al. (Eus. 1, 12) makes the obnoxious Cephas of Gal. ii. 11 one of the seventy.

[2] Mark xv. 21.

[3] Joseph, Matt. xxvii. 57; Luke xxiii. 50; Mark xv. 43. Nicodemus, John iii. 1, vii. 50, xix. 38 sq., is most probably in part a fictitious introduction of the renowned Jewish Nakdimon into the ranks of the Christians, and in part a duplicate of Joseph, who also, according to Luke and Mark, looked for the kingdom of God (John iii. 3), was a counsellor (John iii. 1, vii. 50), and, according to all the Gospels, assumed an attitude of considerable reserve. The fourth Gospel describes Joseph as the rich man, after Matthew, and Nicodemus as the counsellor, after Luke and Mark. More in detail concerning both men in the history of the Passion. Matthias (= Gift of Jehovah, as distinguished from Matthew = the Given, see above, p. 265), Acts i. 23. Joseph Barsabbas, called Justus, *ib.* Judas Barsabbas, perhaps originally the same, xv. 22. Hitzig, *Zeitschrift v. Merx*, 1868, pp. 106 sqq., derives the word from bar zaba (Son of the Host); comp. caphar zaba, Josephus ζ(σ)αβᾶ (Village of the Host), *i. e.* from the time of Herod Antipater. But the double *bb?* Nearer to it is shabba (Sabbath, Son of the S. = born on the S.), Bux. 2323; or shebab, neighbour, ib. 2303; or zabba, dyer, ib. 1883. Clopas, Joses, Matt. x. 3, xxvii. 56; comp. below, p. 276, and under the choosing of the Apostles. John the Presbyter, see above, Vol. I. pp. 218 sqq.

than those of the men, a distinction to which the women earned a claim by the heroism of several of them at the time of the crucifixion at Jerusalem. None of these were called, in the narrower sense of the word; yet they and others not only accompanied Jesus to Jerusalem, but they had previously followed him about Galilee, the Oriental restraints—which the practices of Pharisaism, the ideal of all Jewish women, had already weakened—having been broken down by the fervour of religious belief, and by the teaching concerning the dignity of humanity, the dignity of women, and the one supersensual task.[1] Five women are distinctly mentioned, three of whom were bound to the Lord by his healing hand, and two through their sons. One is Mary of Magdala, a place near to and on the south of Capernaum; she has been handed down in history as the Magdalene, out of whom Jesus is said to have cast seven devils. Two others are Joanna, the wife, not the widow, of Chuza, an Herodian governor, and Susanna; both of these were also delivered from either possession or disease. The remaining two are Salome, the mother of the sons of Zebedee, and Mary, the mother of the younger James and of Joses.[2] Mary and Martha must not here be reckoned, since, even if they be historical names, they only appear as adherents, not as followers.[3] These five women, with the majority of the men whose names are given, early connected themselves with the retinue of Jesus. This female escort never became the occasion of mistrust or censure on the part of Jesus' contemporaries, not even of the Pharisees, although Ewald talks about such a thing; it remained for moderns—Venturini and Renan—to imagine the existence of a relationship of love. The charge which later writers have mentioned as having been brought against Jesus before Pilate, viz., that he made women

[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 343.

[2] Luke viii. 2, 3; Matt. xii. 49, xxvii. 55 sq., xxviii. 1; Luke xxiii. 55, xxiv. 10; Mark xv. 40 sq., xvi. 1; Matt. xx. 20. Chuza (wall); yet comp. also Chozai, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19. Further away lies Chushai, Greek Χουσί, 2 Sam. xv. 32 sqq. Widow, according to Ewald, p. 401.

[3] Luke x. 38; see above, p. 151.

and children disloyal, belongs at any rate to an altogether different province.[1]

The disciples of Jesus belonged to very different strata of society. They were chiefly from Galilee, most of them natives or residents of Capernaum, as were the four first called and all the women. Only Joseph of Arimathea belonged to the southern Judæan country, as did perhaps also the subsequent Apostle, Judas of Kerijot [Iscariot]. The *Chronicon Paschale* makes Simon the Zealot belong to the boundary of Galilee and Samaria.[2] None of the relations of Jesus belonged to the number of the disciples. The notices in the fourth Gospel of the cousinship of James the younger, as well as of that of Simon the Zealot—whom the Fathers called the brother of James—must be held to be doubtful; and the idea of a relationship of step-brother or cousin between Jesus and the sons of Zebedee must be altogether discarded.[3] Not one of the disciples was in

[1] Ewald, p. 509. See below, the history of the Passion.

[2] Undoubtedly, Judas Iscariot means man of Kariot (Sin. It. D. also read in John vi. 71, &c., ἀπὸ Καριώτου), like Ἰσταβός, Josephus, *Ant.* 7, 6, 1, man of Tob, Judges xi. 3. There are several Kerijots (i. e. towns). It cannot have been the Moabitic town, celebrated for its palaces and its ramparts, Amos ii. 2; Jeremiah xlviii. 41. It can scarcely also have been the town in southern Judæa, four leagues south of Hebron (ruins of Kereitein, or according to Kiepert, Kuryetein), Joshua xv. 25. It was most probably the Kerijot (Josephus, Koreæ, Korea) on the northern boundary of Judæa, half a league north of Shiloh, and now Kuriut, see Jos. *B. J.* 1, 6, 5; 4, 8, 1; *Ant.* 14, 3, 4. Hitzig, *Gesch.* p. 497. But perhaps Judas' father, who according to John was called Simon, and even also Iscariot (John vi. 71, xiii. 26), had migrated to Galilee. On the locality of Ramah, see the history of the Passion. On Simon's connection with Salim, see Winer, *Salim.*

[3] James of Alphæus, Matt. x. 3; his mother Mary, xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40. But in John xix. 25, the same Mary, under the name of "Mary of Clopas," seems to be described as sister of Jesus' mother. But this cannot be exegetically demonstrated, even if it be allowed (with John, Hegesippus, Eusebius, and modern writers) to identify the Alphæus of the three Synoptics, and the Cleopas of Luke xxiv. 18, with the Clopas of John, instead of deriving Alphæus from Chalpai, Clopas from Aram. Kulpa (hammer), and Cleopas from Cleopatros. But it is not known whether Mary "of Clopas" was wife (Eusebius, 4, 22) or mother (Ewald). Nor is it known whether John speaks of three or four women (thus Wies., Meyer, Hausr.): if of three, then the sister of Jesus' mother would be the Mary of Clopas; if of four, then she would be introduced without being named. But if it be admitted that John mentions three women, nay, purposely mentions three Marys, under the cross, to correspond with the

circumstances of poverty; not only the first four, but the others also, left houses and goods, and Joseph of Arimathea and the women were wealthy.[1] A certain degree of refinement and higher culture would be possessed by the Scribe who followed Jesus, by Simon the Zealot—if, indeed, he were not identical with the Scribe—by Joseph of Arimathea, perhaps also by the publicans, who at any rate knew how to use the pen, and by Joanna.[2] The connection which the fourth Gospel asserts to have existed between John and high-priestly families is altogether incredible.[3] The majority of the disciples probably consisted of fishermen and handicraftsmen, husbandmen and publicans. The name of Barsabbas in the Acts scarcely justifies us in adding to the number of the disciples soldiers from the army of Antipas and from the garrison of Capernaum.[4] On the other

three women of the Synoptics, and if Mary of Clopas be—for the sake of the Synoptics—regarded as the wife of Clopas, still nothing is gained, for John is very untrustworthy. (1) As he unhistorically places Mary the mother of Jesus under the cross, instead of Salome, so he may the sister. (2) As he elsewhere makes acquaintanceships and relationships which are very doubtful (see below, note 3), so may he here, for the Synoptics know nothing of it, and two sisters would scarcely bear the same name. (3) The old sources, in direct contradiction to John, report the virtual unbelief of the family of Jesus, Matt. xiii. 37. (4) Whilst John makes Clopas the brother-in-law of Joseph and Mary, and James of Alphæus the cousin of Jesus on the mother's side, Hegesippus (see above, Vol. II. pp. 24, note ‡, 144, note †) asserts that Clopas was the brother of Joseph and James of Alphæus, and adds that Simon (of Clopas) was cousin of Jesus on the father's side, a piece of information which is also worthless, although Lange and even Volkmar (p. 253) have reproduced it. Salome, the mother of the sons of Zebedee, was made by the ancients (Epiph. 78, 8; comp. above, Vol. II. p. 213) Joseph's daughter, or, according to others (Niceph. 2, 3), his wife. Wieseler, and Meyer and Hausrath after him, on the basis of John xix. 25, raise her to the position of sister to the mother of Jesus!

[1] Matt. xix. 27, xxvii. 57; Luke viii. 2.

[2] Matt. viii. 19, x. 4, xxvii. 57, ix. 9; Luke viii. 2. The publican-Evangelist (according to Renan, the Christian Xenophon), see above, Vol. I. p. 91. Foolish remarks about the respectability and culture of Bartholomew in Stichart's *Leg. d. Ap.* p. 36.

[3] John xviii. 15. What could the Galilean fisherman have to do with the Sadducean hierarch? This is only one of the fictitious connections in this Gospel; comp. xviii. 26, xix. 25, perhaps even xviii. 13. Jesus himself has a high priestly character, xix. 23.

[4] Comp. Celsus in Origen, *Con. Cels.* 2, 46: *παρὼν δέκα ναύτας κ. τελώνας τοὺς*

hand, a sound religious preparation formed part of the antecedents of the more prominent disciples, and belonged to the religious education of Jewish families; and only under this supposition could the notoriously more highly cultured elements combine with the rest.[1] In particular, we see that the school notions of the Pharisees were familiar to the disciples, and that many of the latter had seen the Baptist, or had at least some definite knowledge of him, even if the assertion of the fourth Gospel, that the first half of the Apostles belonged to the school of the Baptist, be not tenable.[2] But the Galileans possessed more mental quickness and susceptibility than culture. Prudence was looked for by Jesus as a necessary qualification of a disciple; and he very early knew of a mental delicacy of feeling and of a brave and resolute disposition in those that were first called, as well as in the women.[3] An early age ascribed to the disciples of Jesus certain specific moral blemishes, quite as groundlessly as Renan has recently charged them with a childishness of understanding. The former accusation was made, on the Christian side and with evident good intention, in the book of Barnabas, and was based on Matt. ix. 13. On the part of the heathen and the Jews, that accusation was published to the world in a spirit of venom and scorn, particularly in the book of Celsus, and is based on a number of references to the physician of the sick, the publican and the publicans, the sinning seaman, the traitorous Judas, the Magdalene and other women, and the contentions and harshnesses of the disciples.[4] It is true that

ἐξωλεστάτους μόνους εἶλε. Barsabbas, see above, p. 274, n. 3. Tradition makes Philip, on account of his name, ἡνίοκος. Winer.

[1] Comp. above, Vol. II. pp. 146 sq. Renan (pp. 164 sqq.) speaks of extreme ignorance.

[2] Matt. xvii. 10—13; John i. 35 sqq; Luke xi. 1.

[3] Matt. x. 16, xvi. 21, xx. 20; Luke viii. 2. Galileans, see above, Vol. II. pp. 7 sqq.

[4] Ep. Barn. 5: ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ (Matt. ix. 13). Celsus: utterly reprobate (ἐξώλης), see above, p. 277, n. 4. Salvador the Jew maintained this.

Jesus regarded the disciples as sinners and debtors, as persons in need of conversion and forgiveness, but he thus regarded them only as he did all others, even the good; and if he required of them the innocence of the dove, and in the Sermon on the Mount promised to these very persons the blessedness of the pure in heart, he could hardly have known them to be guilty of gross sins.[1] We might rather assume that most—with exception perhaps of the publicans—were characterized by Pharisaical strictness, especially in the case of Simon the Zealot, and this strictness might be accompanied by an unsophisticated simplicity, a disposition "without guile."[2] The Gospel of the Nazarenes has, accordingly, described those chosen by Jesus as upright.[3] In the main, however, Jesus had to form the characters of the disciples, and in doing this to harmonize their moral diversities, a work which was lightened by the youthful age of the majority of them. Though some of the disciples, as well as of the women, may have been married, yet an age of not much more than twenty years is plainly indicated in the case of the four first called, notably of the sons of Zebedee, and also of James the younger, of the youth in Judæa and Gethsemane, nay, indeed, of most of them, for they are represented as coming directly from the houses of their parents, and Jesus cautions them against preferring their parents to their Teacher, against jealous fancies and ebullitions of temper, and administers to them truly paternal censures.[4] Just such an attitude was assumed by the Scribes towards "the young;" and thus might Jesus hope—as did Luther in more

[1] Forgiveness, Matt. vi. 12, xviii. 3, 35 (vii. 11). Innocence, x. 16, v. 1 sqq., xii. 7.

[2] Matt. x. 4, xvii. 10; Luke vi. 15. Without guile, Matt. x. 16; John i. 47.

[3] Eligam mihi bonos, illos bonos, quos pater meus cœlestis dedit, Hilgenfeld, 16. Suggests the fourth Gospel, vi. 37 sqq., 70.

[4] Matt. iv. 18, viii. 14, xx. 20; Mark xiv. 51, xv. 40. The majority, Matt. viii. 21, x. 37, xix. 27. Jealousy, xviii. 1, xx. 24. Married, viii. 14, xix. 27; Luke viii. 3. Volkmar (p. 99) speaks of the married condition of all the Apostles, and in evidence of it points not only to 1 Cor. ix. 5, but even to Acts i. 14. About twenty years old, Matt. xvii. 24, 27 (the tax was first paid at the age of twenty).

modern times—to win the old and to tear up the deeply-rooted Pharisaic bondage, by means of the fresh and vigorous youths whom Judaism itself looked upon as the guard of the coming Messiah. He might also hope to find in youth the next neighbour to that innocent and humble childlikeness to which he could promise and give the kingdom of heaven.[1]

His ideas with regard to his training of the disciples found expression, sometimes directly, as when he compared the disciples to Scribes who must be instructed unto the kingdom of heaven; sometimes indirectly, as when he instructed, taught, proposed and answered questions, praised and blamed in matters of knowledge and intention: "Have you understood everything?" "Do you not understand that?" "Are you still without understanding?" "Have you not been able to watch?"[2] His method of teaching consisted principally in making the disciples constant and immediate witnesses of his works and words among the people, on account of which he afterwards declared them to be blessed above the prophets and righteous men of the old covenant.[3] He also prepared them for greater efforts and independent activity by accustoming them to engage in subordinate services, not at all on his own personal behalf—though Elijah had not thought it altogether beneath him to receive personal services—but in connection with the great mission of his life.[4] To the disciples were left the details of the daily provision of food; they furnished the boat, they rowed Jesus across the lake; sometimes one and sometimes another of them executed his commissions; they were his channels of communication with the people, with the sick, with the Pharisees; either on account of the crowds that gathered round Jesus, or of a timidity and shrinking from addressing him himself, it was to the disciples

[1] *Soh. Ex.* f. 4: Robur Messiæ per pueros scholam frequentantes augebitur. Schöttgen, p. 115. Matt. xxi. 15. The Scribes, Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 6, 2.

[2] Matt. xiii. 52. Questions, xiii. 10, 51, xv. 12, 16, xvii. 10, 19, &c. Blame, viii. 26, xiv. 27, 31, xv. 16, xvi. 8, xxvi. 40.

[3] Matt. xiii. 16.

[4] Elijah and Elisha, 2 Kings iii. 11. On the other hand, Jesus, Matt. xx. 28.

that appeals were made by the people, high and low, and even by enemies, and they—the disciples—were consequently able to keep him informed of the temper and sayings of the people and of the Pharisees, of the number of adherents and opponents, and of the existence of self-seeking imitators.[1] Thus, almost from the first, they were both learners and helpers, they were to Jesus arms and eyes, an extended personality; and the words, "To him who hath shall be given, he who is faithful in little shall be set over much," were spoken with particular and affectionate reference to the little yet touchingly faithful services rendered by the disciples.[2]

B.—The Sermon on the Mount.

The disciples, as distinguished from the people, sometimes enjoyed—not to speak of the domestic life of Jesus—the privilege of hearing, more or less in answer to their request, an elucidation of his preaching to the people, and sometimes also more detailed teaching addressed specially to themselves.[3] It has, indeed, been held that Jesus did not, like other teachers or philosophers, set up a wall of partition between an inner and an outer circle of disciples, that he did not divide his teaching into esoteric and exoteric, but, as a true son of the people and as a true patriot—though in an altogether different way from the Pharisees—he made his good accessible to all.[4] And this view

[1] Assistance and execution of commissions, Matt. viii. 18, xvi. 5, xxi. 1, xxvi. 17. Channel of communication, ix. 11, xiv. 15, xv. 12, 23, xvi. 13, xvii. 24; Luke ix. 49. Comp. also the disciples in Schöttgen, p. 89: magister, an vis, ut comiter te in vita tua et *serviam* tibi in hoc itinere? Respondit: potes mecum ire. Ivit ergo post ipsum. John Mark, in Acts xiii. 5.

[2] Luke xvi. 10; Matt. xiii. 12, xxv. 21.

[3] Comp. Matt. xiii. 10, 18; Luke viii. 9.

[4] Secret teaching, comp. Weisse, I. p. 380; Renan, p. 291. In limited sense as the first announcement of what was destined for all, Schleiermacher, pp. 247 sq. Recently, Wittichen, *Jahrb.*, 1862, pp. 314 sqq.; also in the preface to his work, *Die Idee Gottes.* On the other hand, Hilgenfeld, preface to *Gesch. Kanons.* Pressensé, p. 357. Formerly, the Gnostics, and in a certain sense even Clem. Alex., referred back the *gnosis* to some of the favourite disciples of Jesus. Clem., *Strom.* 7, 17, 106;

is so far right, that Jesus neither established a secret society nor taught a secret doctrine, as was supposed by the Gnostics and the Alexandrians of former times, and by the *illuminati* of modern days; and that the special teaching he gave to his disciples consisted in the main of explanations and elucidations of his general preaching, or previsions of questions and facts which were afterwards to become the property of all. Thus it is evident that his expositions of the later parables or of the controversies with the Pharisees are in fact nothing more than elucidations; and that the explicit passage in his mission-speech, asserting that nothing should remain hidden, and that the disciples should in the future proclaim openly what they had heard from him in private, distinctly and concisely expresses the national character and the only temporarily-delayed publicity of all his principles, which he indeed expressly asserted in the presence of his opponents.[1] In this limited sense, however, there was really a secret teaching given to the disciples, even to disciples selected from among the disciples. From Galilee to Jerusalem, he addressed to them a series of communications which for the time concerned *them alone*—nay, the publication of which to the people he forbade either for a definite time or indefinitely; whence it came to pass that the disciples often asked him whether what he said to them concerned them alone or all men.[2] One of the first and one of the most important of these addresses to the disciples is the Sermon on the Mount, a sermon which up to the present time has generally been regarded as addressed to the people, and has therefore been misunderstood.[3]

Eus. 2, 1. Later the *Illuminati* and Rationalists, connecting it with Essenism or Philonism. Comp. Bahrdt, Venturini, Ballenstedt, in Hase, § 40, who also rejects the secret teaching. Pharisees, see above, Vol. I. p. 333, note 2.

[1] Matt. xiii. 10, x. 26 sq. In the presence of his opponents, Matt. xxvi. 55; Luke xxii. 53; Mark xiv. 49; John xviii. 20.

[2] Matt. vii. 6, xvi. 20, xvii. 9. Question of the disciples, Luke ix. 23, xii. 41.

[3] For the literature of the Sermon on the Mount, comp. Bleek, Meyer, Tholuck. The best is Tholuck's *Bergrede Christi.*

Who were the real listeners to the Sermon on the Mount has been shown in an earlier part of this work; but there still remains quite untouched a multitude of difficulties with which this avowedly finest monument of the intellect of Jesus is—contrary to the expectation of the cultured but critically inexperienced reader—beset.[1]

In the first place, this Sermon on the Mount was written by two hands; and the two authors to whom we owe it, Matthew and Luke, agree neither as to its contents nor its form, nor altogether as to its date and purpose. Fortunately, the opinion that we have here two distinct Sermons on the Mount, belonging to distinct periods, is now nearly given up.[2] At present, and with justice, critics are not fond of such artificial re-duplications of things that are really single; but, driven to the definite question as to which account is to be preferred, some find the sermon as given by Matthew the more nearly genuine and the more ancient, while others decide in favour of that given by Luke.[3] That both writers give one and the same address is shown rather by the still existing great similarity of the contents, than by the connection of the sermon with a hill, for indeed Luke, apparently to

[1] The hearers, see above, p. 19. Weizsäcker (p. 336) not quite correct when he says it was addressed, not to the disciples, but to the pious among the people generally. This sermon universally admired, from the ancients to the Socinians, who would sacrifice everything else for the three chapters (Tholuck, *Bergrede*), and to Baur, *Drei erste Jahrh.* pp. 25 sqq.

[2] Matt. v. 1 sqq.; Luke vi. 20 sqq. In Luke a little later, on the occasion of the choosing of the Apostles, in the plain instead of on the hill, standing, not sitting, 30 verses against 107, rejection of the preaching of the Law, &c., yet great resemblance in the external scenery and surroundings (*e. g.* the narrative of the centurion). A duality of addresses was essentially assumed by Augustine (consequently also by the Church), who saw in the later address of Luke a repetition of a part of the former in the presence of the people (*Cons. Ev.* 2, 19). Andr. Osiander (*Ev. Harm.* 1530) held that Matthew's address was delivered before Easter, and Luke's about Whitsuntide. Lange, II. pp. 567 sqq. On the other hand, Origen, Chrysos., the Reformers and Luther, believed in the unity of the sermon.

[3] For Luke, Evans. Büsching, Vogel, Sieffert, Fritzsche, Olsh., Schulz, Schneck., Wilke, Holtzmann (earlier form of the *Logia*), &c. For Matthew, Schleiermacher (on *Schr. d. Luk.* p. 89: our reporter had an unfavourable place!), De Wette, Meyer, Tholuck, Strauss, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Weizsäcker, and others. A middle position, particularly Bleek, I. pp. 220 sqq.

make room for the multitude of hearers, has transferred or, as Baur thought, degraded it from the hill to the plain. Luke, as well as Matthew, has the beatitudes; he gives also, partly at least in the same words, the points of Jesus' moral precepts, love towards one's neighbour and abstinence from judging, and at the close the antithesis of good and bad, of the wise man and the foolish man. It may be said that he accompanies Matthew from beginning to end, though he omits some of Matthew's rich material. The predominant impression produced is, that Matthew gives the more nearly original form of this sermon. For the eight beatitudes of Matthew are in Luke artificially divided into a quaternion of beatitudes and a quaternion of woes; the moral precepts are confusedly intermingled by the haste, the insupportable abbreviations, repetitions, and dislocations, partly also by the inappropriate complements, of the compiler; and finally, here and there, the broader style or an unintelligible transition points evidently enough to the older source upon which the report is based.[1] If one still hesitates to subscribe to De Wette's strong verdict of "caricature" of Matthew, and, with Holtzmann, is inclined to look for the original source rather in that which is disconnected and harsh than in that which is smooth and easy—although the co-existence of harshness and artificial construction is a proof to the contrary,—yet the obviously evident later date of Luke's report is incontrovertibly discovered in the peculiar character of that report. In one place, we have gross naked Ebionitism uttering the battle-cry of external poverty against riches, a cry which is a perverse distortion of the elevated spiritual conception of the kingdom of heaven in the mouth of Jesus and in the words of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. In another place, we have a violent disruption of the moral teaching of Jesus from the religion of

[1] Luke's arrangement: (1) Four beatitudes, four woes, for poor and rich, vi. 20—26; (2) Jesus' moral teaching, (*a*) love of enemies, vers. 27—38, (*b*) enlargement in parables, vers. 39—45; (3) conclusion, vers. 46—49. Traces of compilation, vers. 27, 31, 35, 38 sq., 41, 43. Phraseology, vers. 21 sqq., 27 sq., 30, 32 sqq. (three members), 37 sq., 48 sq.

the Old Testament, Jesus' historical position being thus left resting upon air; and the connection between the old and new, so finely given by Matthew, is either converted into an unintelligible riddle, or is justified as the actual original by its contrast with the work of a bungler.[1] This two-fold and indeed antagonistic peculiarity of Luke's version of the Sermon on the Mount also permits us to decide as to the origin of this document. The naked doctrine of poverty belongs to Luke's source; the non-Jewish, disjointed morality belongs—a fact which Holtzmann altogether overlooks—to the Pauline Luke himself; and therefore the report as a whole is inferior to Matthew's report both in value and in age, even though here and there, in minor matters, through the influence of Luke's relatively old source, a nearer approach to originality should be pointed out than is to be found in our present form of Matthew.[2]

But if we turn, encouraged and expectant, to Matthew, we still find even here a number of difficulties. It is true the proper nucleus of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount—the beatitudes,

[1] Traces of a later age: The direct antagonism to Judaism (vers. 26, 46); exclusion of Christians from the synagogue (ver. 22); persecution (ver. 27). Kingdom of God instead of kingdom of heaven (ver. 20); Father instead of Father in heaven (ver. 36); God (ver. 35); sinners, thrice, instead of publicans and Gentiles (vers. 32 sqq.); thorns instead of thistles (ver. 44), &c. Artificial suggestion of a sermon to disciples (ver. 40), of a sermon to the people (vers. 24, 27, 46).

[2] The original author, himself dependent upon Matthew, is the Ebionite (Strauss also, I. p. 642) who has been described above, Vol. I. p. 98 sq., and whom now Volkmar also silently accepts. The first use of this first Gospel of the Hebrews, James iv. 9 (comp. ii. 5, 6, v. 1 sqq., 12), whilst Matt. v. 16 is first used by 1 Pet. ii. 12. The Pauline author betrays himself as the compiler, particularly in vi. 26, 27, 31, 43, 46. The majority of the cases of transference of isolated passages to quite other positions, show—as De Wette, Tholuck, Strauss, have long pointed out—no superiority to the context of Matthew. Thus the saying about salt, Luke xiv. 34 (Mark ix. 50), light, viii. 16 (Mark iv. 21), the Law and the Prophets, xvi. 17 (comp. xvi.) 31, treasures in heaven, two masters, xvi. 1 sqq., prayer, xi. 1 sqq., absence of anxiety, xii. 22 sqq. The later type can here be everywhere pointed out, and indeed follows from the secondary narratives into which the sayings in question are introduced. A relative superiority lies only in the facts that (1) in general several things separated from the Sermon on the Mount appear independently placed, as the question about prayer, xi., absence of anxiety, xii.; (2) that the saying about the narrow gate (xiii. 24) is placed in a later period; (3) that this last passage appears to be even more nearly original than Matt. vii. 13, 22.

the charge to the disciples, and the whole exposition by Jesus of his relation to the Law and the Prophets—is a consistent unity, quite appropriate to the time when Jesus was beginning to instruct his disciples. But it has long been a question whether everything, whether the whole of the copious and important contents of the following two chapters, belongs to the unity of one comprehensive address.[1] It is, in the first place, improbable that Jesus, the pedagogue of the disciples as well as of the people, at once delivered, right over the heads as it were of his hearers who were but beginners, a sermon so long and so full of weighty matter, even if he were able to extemporize with such systematic grandeur and beauty. It is further certain that Matthew was fond of bringing together addresses and works in great artificial groups, e.g., the great series of works immediately following the Sermon on the Mount: can we, then, accept the great group of sayings in that sermon as strictly composing one discourse? In the next place, it has long since been discovered that many parts of the Sermon on the Mount, even though Luke has given them in a similar manner, lie together simply as a loosely connected series of deposits, the layers of which, not Jesus, but simply the narrator, has arranged; that in the middle, after the attack upon the Pharisees, the connection becomes weaker, and towards the end ceases altogether, many of the passages near the end being given by Luke and Mark in quite other contexts.[2] The last part of the sermon, the reference to

[1] Calvin has candidly admitted the free composition of the addresses in Matthew and Luke (Tholuck). So have also a number of more recent critics, Seml., Corrodi, Eichh., Herder, Kuinöl, Fritzsche, Olsh., Schneck., Bleek, Kern, Schwegler, Wilke, and others. Volkmar suggests a derivation from the meagre passages in Mark. The actual unity has been defended by Paulus, Stier, Ebrard; and with more moderation by Tholuck, Neander, Meyer, even Baur and Strauss.

[2] The end of the connected arrangement in Matthew has been fixed (Neander, De Wette, Bleek, Strauss) at vi. 19, at the furthest at vii. 1 or 6, although Luke also gives the concluding passages, on judging, the fruit of the trees, Lord, Lord, the house on the rock (Luke vi. 37 sqq., 43, 46, 47—49). Hilgenfeld (1867, p. 381) regards Matt. v. 18 sq., vi. 14 sq., vii. 6—11, as interpolations. On the divergences of Luke and Mark, see above, p. 285, n. 2. If necessary, it would be possible to find an arrangement even in the latter part of the sermon in Matthew:—II. Communications re-

the small measure of success, to the Messianic judgment, to false prophets, irresistibly suggests—as Luke also shows—a much later period.[1] From all this follows the necessity of breaking up the artificial structure, and of limiting the Sermon on the Mount to its original matter, Jesus' address of welcome to his band of disciples contained in the fifth chapter; and if we add to that the criticism of Pharisaic virtue in the beginning of the sixth chapter, it must be with the consciousness that these sentences, though related to the foregoing both as to matter and date, were nevertheless originally spoken on a different occasion.[2] In a former part of the present volume, what was most probably Jesus' first sermon to the people has been restored from a part of the old Sermon on the Mount; several of the concluding passages appear to belong to a later period.[3] The real Sermon on the Mount fell somewhat later than that first fine sermon to the people. Since, on the one hand, it assumes the existence of an extensive circle of disciples, and, on the other hand, exhibits the gladness of the early period of the ministry, and, notwithstanding a determined antagonism, refers with great circumspection to the Scribes, and finally—in Luke at least—belongs to the season of ripening corn-fields, it may be placed at Whitsuntide, and the sermon to the people at Easter.[4]

specting the laws of the kingdom: (1) theoretical and practical antagonism to the Pharisees; (2) *general* moral principles (vi. 19)—(*a*) withdrawal from what is earthly, and a child-like seeking after God and His righteousness (prepared for in vi. 2, 4, 5, 6, 16, 18), vi. 19—34; (*b*) duties towards men, vii. 1—12 (critical and officious importunity, gifts of men and gifts of God, and concluding principle). III. Final invitation, vii. 13—29. But the connection is stiff and forced from vi. 19 onwards (comp. Luke xii. 22 sqq.). Indeed, the antithesis to Pharisaic asceticism in vi. 1—18 does not harmonize with what goes before, either internally or externally, for the *form* and the designation of the opponents as hypocrites are quite out of character with the preceding. This passage is interpolated only on account of the similarity of its matter.

[1] Matt. vii. 13; Luke xiii. 23.

[2] Matt. v. 1—48, vi. 1—18, with omission of the Lord's Prayer, 9—15.

[3] The sermon to the people, see above, pp. 28 sqq. The concluding part belongs to the period of the Galilean breach.

[4] Gladness, Matt. v. 3 sqq., 14—16; beginning of the antagonism, 10—12, 17. The expressions referring to the Scribes are very guarded throughout the fifth chapter; and even in the sixth, the hypocrites are not expressly called Scribes or Pharisees, nor

The "Sermon on the Mount" was therefore, in a strict and peculiar sense, that greeting of the members of the kingdom of heaven which Matthew has detailed in such a masterly way in the beginning of his long address. The more unembarrassed, the more unreserved, Jesus is represented as being in his communications to them, and the more solemnly he is made to depict their relation towards heaven and earth, so much the more appropriate is his retirement to that hill where he, a true Galilean, was wont to seek his freedom, his rest, his meditation, his nearness to God.[1] On this account, we cannot assent to the supposition that the narrator has arbitrarily created for the lawgiver "the mount," in imitation of Sinai, the mount of Moses, or of some other traditional hill-top.[2] He has given him neither a "high hill," nor thunder and lightning, nor, by way of variety, a murmuring sound of the divine breath of peace; nor has he depicted him as the superseder, but rather—notwithstanding all the strongly pronounced antagonism to the Sopherim—as the humble follower and fulfiller, of Moses. Much as we should like to behold and lay our hands upon "the mount" of Matthew

are they by any means directly identified with them. In xv. and xxiii. the attacks are both more violent and more specific. Harvest, Luke vi. 1. For the most part, critics are content to speak of a later period generally, after the completion of the circle of disciples (according to Luke); thus Bleek, Press., Hilg., Holtzm.; although Meyer, almost alone, holds fast to the earlier position, but maintains that Jesus had not so definitely announced himself as the Messiah, &c. These very features, the antagonism to the Pharisees, and finally the attempt to harmonize Matthew and John (Matt. v. and John v.), led Tholuck to assume the late period of the return from the borders of Phenicia (Matt. xv. 21, 29) for the Sermon on the Mount, by which he thought Luke vi. 17 was well explained! Schenkel (p. 125), Holtzmann (*Jäd. Gesch.* p. 392), would postpone the antitheses to the time of Matt. xv. 1. Comp. Press. p. 445. A. Osiander (see above, p. 283, n. 3) mentioned Whitsuntide (for Luke).

[1] Comp. the insurgents' strongholds at Arbela, south of Capernaum, which gave Herod so much trouble, Josephus, *Ant.* 14, 15, 4, 5. Even the successors of Judas the Galilean, down to Masada!

[2] Baur, Br. Bauer, Volkmar, Delitzsch, thought of Sinai; Gfrörer (*H. Sage*, p. 199), of the still celebrated hill of the miracle of the loaves; Volkmar, of the hill of the resurrection or that of the ascension. Special reliance has been placed on the fact that the Gospels always so significantly speak of *the* hill, Matt. xiv. 23, xv. 29 (more exactly defined, xxviii. 16; indefinite, xvii. 1); Luke ix. 28; Mark iii. 13; vi. 46; John vi. 3, 15.

as the starting-point of a new world, it cannot be pointed out to us with perfect certainty by any human ingenuity and discovery. Even Matthew himself does not boast of an exact acquaintance with it. He speaks, definitely and indefinitely, of the other hills which were trodden by the feet of Jesus, in such a way as to have given rise in many minds to the mistake of supposing that Jesus constantly frequented but one hill, or that the author describes but one.[1] But the Latin tradition has here and there attempted to satisfy its material craving, by pointing either to the bare hill of Safed, or rather to the singular elevation Hattin, in the background of the well-known rocks of Arbela and of the Wady Humam that opens near Magdala, two leagues to the west of Tiberias, with its two horns (Kurun Hattin), "the little throne of a Mighty One whose footstool is the firm earth," rising sixty feet above the plain that stretches east and west.[2] Neither of these points is in the right locality, since they lie too far—three leagues north and south—from Capernaum, and the Horns are too near to Tiberias; while, on the other hand, the difficulty of the limited extent of Kurun Hattin is removed by the fact that the hearers did not number thousands, but consisted simply of the disciples. To say nothing of the fine hill of Tabor, which lies too far to the south, Robinson has recently discovered on the shores of the lake a full dozen of eminences which would offer themselves to Jesus as fit places for his preaching.[3] When we examine the subject more closely, we

[1] See preceding note. The hill of the beatitudes was regarded as identical with that of the miracle of the loaves, &c., by Quaresimus (1639), Adrichomius (1689), and Brocardus (1283). See Tholuck.

[2] Brocardus (1283) locates the hill six leagues from Safed, a stone's throw from the lake of Galilee (Tholuck), a measurement which certainly removes it far from Safed. The Kurun Hattin, celebrated through Saladin, 1187, named by Cotovicus (1619), Quaresimus, Adrichomius, also especially by Korte (1741). Comp. Tholuck. Press. and Caspari still hold to the K. Hattin. The quotation from Schubert's *Reise ins Morgenland*, III. p. 223.

[3] The extent of the surface of the eminence, by Pococke (*Beschreib. d. Morgenl.* p. 98), only 19 paces long, 16 broad. See Tholuck. Robinson, III. p. 485. But he misses the plain for the people!

see that the Evangelists had in view simply the nearest conspicuous eminence to Capernaum, the rocky hill which forms a headland in the lake immediately on the north of the town, and bounds and protects the plain of Gennesareth. Brocardus in the thirteenth century, and Graf Solms in the fifteenth, named this hill; and Robinson himself has established its fitness for an assembly.[1]

But more important than all this is the question, whether Jesus addressed his Sermon on the Mount to the whole number of his disciples, or, as Luke gives it, particularly to the select few, to his twelve. For, according to Luke, the address was delivered after the choosing of the twelve. But since the choosing of the twelve was certainly a later event and—as will be shown—coincided immediately with the mission and the missionary address; since, further, the Sermon on the Mount has throughout the character of an early and opening discourse; since, in Matthew, it is from beginning to end addressed to the larger model community, and even in Luke—where mention is also made of the great mass of the disciples—shows as good as no trace at all of the separation of the twelve; therefore, disregarding Luke's objectless intimation, we must hold fast to the opinion that the discourse as a whole was addressed to the complete and unbroken circle of the disciples.[2]

Jesus sits down upon the hill: an intimation that he wishes to make a halt, or, more correctly, that he wishes quietly to contemplate, to speak, to teach. He will offer to the mind, the will, the heart, of the hearers, for their sober consideration and manly verdict, the mature wisdom of his soul. Although this will be as the revelation of new great worlds to them, he wishes to

[1] Tholuck. *The* hill is neither any hill nor the range of hills (Tholuck formerly, Ebrard, Bleek), but mons, quem nostis (Fritzsche), or qui prope erat (πλησίον, Euth.). Capernaum is plainly referred to in Matt. viii. 5; Luke vi. 12, vii. 1; Mark iii. 13. Ewald also (p. 390) thinks of the neighbourhood of Capernaum.

[2] Matt. v. 3, 14–16; Luke vi. 13, but also xvii. 20. Special for the Apostles, at most verse 40; but even this is quite appropriate to the larger circle of disciples. Comp. later, the mission.

speak without passion and without exciting passion. He aims at their blessedness, a blessedness in which there shall be nothing unnatural or forced, but which shall be full of a rich flow of deep and warm emotion. When he is seated, the disciples approach and form a ring—they are not expecting, it would appear, merely to rest themselves on the ground, as was customary.[1] And he opens his mouth—as the narrator significantly says—that the expectation may not be disappointed, that something greater may be given than the world has ever heard, greater than the disciples expect.[2] The first part of his address is a cordial and sublime invitation to the kingdom of heaven. "Here is, indeed," says Luther, "a fine, sweet, affectionate beginning of his teaching and preaching. For he does not start like a Moses or a teacher of the Law, or, we would say, a John, with commands, threats, and alarms, but in the most affectionate manner, with nothing but enticements and allurements and delightful promises."[3] The mouth of Jesus proclaims to the world beatitudes. There is in the eight beatitudes an inexhaustible stream of the gifts of God, of the real gospel.[4] Only in Luke does the gospel stream fail, for there, after four beatitudes, we have as many harsh, Baptist-like woes.[5] Jesus does not directly point to his disciples as the recipients of the blessings, yet he has them in view. Certainly there is not wanting an insistance upon a pledge: the benediction is dependent upon

[1] Matt. v. 1. In Luke vi. 17, he stands. On the sitting of the teachers and scholars, see Schöttgen, p. 15. See also above, p. 148. Peter stands, in Acts ii. 14; comp. xiii. 16. The Baptist, see above, Vol. II. pp. 235 sqq.

[2] Comp. Job iii. 1. [3] Luther, in Meyer. John, Matt. iii. 7.

[4] Matt. v. 3—10. Delitzsch, incorrectly including verses 11, 12, which only make an application of the previous teaching, reckons ten beatitudes; Köstlin, Ewald, Hilg., not counting verse 10 on account of its similarity to verse 3 and its confused view of the universe, only seven. An analogy may be found (Hilg.) in the fact that the number seven is represented also in the addresses in Matt. xiii. xxiii. But eight miracles, viii. ix. Moreover, Luke has four beatitudes and four woes; comp., in addition, Luke vi. 22.

[5] Luke vi. 20—26. (*a*) Poor, hungering, weeping, hated. (*b*) Rich, full, laughing, applauded (corresponding to Matthew's first, fourth, third, and eighth beatitudes. Who cannot see here a compilation and a grosser rendering?

manifold conditions, without which the corresponding manifold blessings cannot be realized. The practical fulfillers of these conditions are blessed in the present, because they will inherit in the future, in the near future, all the possible treasures of the kingdom of heaven.[1] These conditions throughout—though not in Luke—have corresponding spiritual and moral foundations; and in conformity with this, the divine fulfilment also lies preponderantly in a higher sphere, not in a lower. He first commends the *four virtues of sorrow:* "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are they that wait [die Harrenden], for they shall possess the earth; blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted; blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled."[2] The virtue of sorrow is resignation and hope in heaven. The resigned are the first and the third, they who, in their self-consciousness, with regard to both external and internal conditions, are possessionless, cast down, humble, or, more exactly expounded, the children of the people of God who mourn over themselves and over Israel. The hopeful are the second and fourth, who do not lose patience in their God, or, more exactly expounded, they who are lifted by longing and gladness out of their sorrow into the righteous life upon earth which, according to the promise of Isaiah, God will bring to pass in the days of the Messiah.[3] The kingdom of heaven, the kingdom of the

[1] Blessed (full of possessions [sälig-voll], fortunate, Gr. *μακάριος*, Hebr. ashre) are the poor in spirit, *because* the kingdom of heaven will be theirs, &c.

[2] After the Itala, Orig., Cod. D. has, contrary to the majority of the codices of the beatitudes, the *πραεῖς* (false translation, *meek*) before the *πενθοῦντες* (mourning), although many, as Meyer, still defend the older, which is, however, only the easier, reading.

[3] Poor in spirit, quite according to the analogy of the O. T. shiphle ruach, Isaiah lvii. 15; Prov. xxix. 23, nishbere leb (Isaiah lxi. 1); *ὑψηλοὶ πνεύματι*, Eccl. vii. 8; *ταπεινὸς καρδίᾳ*, Matt. xi. 29 (comp. Isaiah lvii. 15, lxi. 3, lxvi. 2; Baruch iii. 1; Rom. xii. 11). Also, by the Rabbis, humble (shaphal), and high (gaboah) spirit. Schöttgen, p. 15. LXX.: *ταπεινόφρων, συντετριμμ., ὀλιγόψυχος*. Poor in the sphere of the mind or of self-consciousness, feeling or knowing themselves to be poor (thus Chrysos., *ταπεινοὶ κ. συντετριμμ. τὴν διάνοιαν*), whether the occasion of the feeling of poverty be external or internal want. In the light of the context (verse 4), and of the most nearly corresponding O. T. conception of the Ebionim, Anavim,

earth, at once the whole, the highest, the one and all of the future, will be thrown altogether, according to promise, into the bosom of those who have so long suffered and languished; and then begin the several blessings, comfort for sorrow, complete satisfaction of the longing for righteousness. Jesus includes in his beatitudes not only the virtues of sorrow, but also the *virtues of vigorous, joyous, creative activity;* he recognizes the existence of something good upon earth side by side with sin; and with the help of those who are good and righteous, will he set up, or at least prepare for, the kingdom of heaven. Hence the second quaternion of beatitudes: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall enjoy mercy in the judgment; blessed are the pure in heart, who have not lusted, who have not been inflamed against their fellows, for, as godlike, they shall look upon God." Finally, blessed, according to their dispositions, are they whose conduct, by work and suffering, renovates the world: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they, as true descendants of God, shall be called the children of God; blessed are they who are perse-

Aniim, external want is not absolutely excluded; but verse 6 shows that the reference is preponderantly to the province of internal want. So much is correct in the incorrect translation, poor in intellect, knowing themselves poor in intellect, or indeed ingenio et eruditione parum florentes (Fritzsche, comp. emperor Julian). False, also, the ancient Catholic explanation: pauperes spiritu (Vulg.), voluntarily poor (Baur), or even beggars for spirit (Fürst v. Solms and Weiffenbach). Finally, the supposition, on the critical side (even Baur, Hilg., as well as Volk., p. 537, according to whom every one sees it), that the original form is the simple word *poor* without addition, is a mistake. Such a supposition is opposed to Jesus (comp. Matt. xxvi. 11), and to the whole spirit of his teaching, and to the original and antique conception of Matt. (notwithstanding xi. 5) compared with the trivial one of Luke! Barn. 19 postulates in quite another style πλούσιοι πνεύμ.—The πραεῖς are not the meek (Vulg. mites, thus Luth.), notwithstanding Matt. xi. 29, because that would be inconsistent with the O. Test. and the context. They are the poor of Ps. xxxvii. 11, who, in contrast with the high-minded sinners, wait *upon the Lord*, the ἡσύχιοι, nekeh ruach in Isaiah lxvi. 2. The πενθοῦντες are, according to the O. T. (Is. lxi. 3, lenachem et abelim, LXX., πενθ.), the mourning patriots generally (Luke ii. 25), but in accordance with the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, they are, as Chrysos. says, more particularly they who are troubled on account of sin. The hungering and the thirsting, Is. lv. 1; Ps. xlii. 3, lxiii. 1; Ecclus. li. 24; Baruch ii. 18; John vii. 37. Righteousness, not the avenging help of God, Is. lvi. 1 sqq., but righteousness abiding in man, lvii. 19, lviii. 8, lix. 4, 9, 12 sqq., lxi. 3, 10, lxiv. 6. Satisfying fulness, Ps. xvii. 15; John x. 10.

cuted on account of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."[1] Thus the last promise returns to the first fundamental promise, as indeed does also the last qualification to the first, to the suffering poverty that is powerless against the world. This is a sign that Jesus does not too sanguinely expect the unresisting surrender of the world at the first summons of his call to the kingdom; it is a proof also that, on the one hand, he demands from his followers the pledge of a noble heroism in acting and suffering, as if the kingdom of heaven were to be forcibly obtained by human power, and that, on the other hand, as a man of religion, he expects to obtain complete success, victory and triumph upon earth, only by means of divine power. Having arrived at this point—the blessedness of the brave who are willing to do and endure everything for the sake of righteousness—Jesus no longer abstains from acknowledging from whom he expects everything, and to whom, above all, his beatitudes belong, for he addresses the disciples themselves with a last "Blessed," which applies and amplifies the eighth beatitude, and, in the words of Isaiah, places before them the prospect of a great reward in heaven for every persecution and—with immediate reference to their at that time comparatively tolerable position—for every reproach and venomous word suffered in following the prophets and in representing his person. But at this point he passes from the beatitudes to the tasks, from the invitation to the duties of the kingdom of heaven.[2]

The second part of the Sermon on the Mount exhibits the

[1] The merciful (Hosea vi. 6; Is. lviii. 7) will find mercy in judgment, Matt. vii. 1, vi. 14, xviii. 35. Pure in heart, bare lebab, εὐθεῖς καρδίᾳ, Ps. lxxiii. 1, 13, opp. Ex. xx. 17; Is. lix. 2 sqq., lxiv. 6; Joel ii. 13; Ez. xxxvi. 29; Zech. xiii. 2. Comp. the Essenes, above, Vol. I. p. 378. More than puritas israelitica, Lightfoot, p. 282. Looking upon God, Ps. xvii. 15; Matt. xxii. 11; Rev. xxii. 3, 4; 1 John iii. 2; comp. *Shabb.* f. 151, 2, on Matt. v. 7, 8: quic. miseretur hominum, illi etiam miseric. exhibetur a Deo. Schöttgen, p. 17. *Bab. Bav. B.* f. 10, 1: ob quadrantem unum pauperi datum particeps fit homo beatificæ visionis. Lightf. p. 296. Peacemakers (not, peaceful), comp. Matt. v. 22—26. Sons of God, Hosea i. 10; Matt. v. 45.

[2] Is. li. 7. In the above manner, Jesus can have then already thus expressed himself; words of reviling were early uttered, Matt. ix. 34, x. 25, xi. 18, 19, xii. 24. Otherwise it might be said that the Evangelist had anticipated these words (Matt.

sphere of labour of the new discipleship. "Ye are the salt of the earth! Ye are the light of the world!" The all-embracing self-consciousness of the new Master transfers itself with strong, unbroken faith, with the faith of the prophets which sees as present what is future, to the band of poor disciples, to the fishers and the publicans, who without him can be nothing, but with him can become everything; and it so transfers itself that he will rely upon them, and that they, because of him, shall rely on themselves, on their importance in the kingdom of heaven. The first presentiment of their vocation, and, with the presentiment, the first proud strength, the first strong resolve, he introduces into their souls with the two great utterances just quoted. They are the salt, the only salt of the earth, which shall season the earth, and shall give it character, strength, animation, instead of its insipidity, weakness, and helplessness. They are what the prophets so often promised to the whole of Israel, the light of the world, which, as a single sun in the firmament of humanity, should dispel the darkness of ignorance and of sinful impurity.[1] Though the sense of his words does not go so far as to assert that he will become, in his diciples, the vivifying salt, the illuminating light, to all the nations to the end of the earth—for at this period his mind is satisfied with being a light "in the house," in the house of Israel—it is nevertheless his belief that he is introducing a light which shines in its uniqueness over the whole earth, which glorifies and illumines the whole of the hitherto dark world, and which, seen in the remotest distance, shall everywhere excite admiration, reverence, lowly homage.[2] It is true

x. 16, 23). In Luke vi. 22 sqq., the exaggeration is evident: expulsion from the Jewish community, universal hatred of the Jewish people.

[1] These figures are given by Luke and Mark in quite other contexts,—salt, Luke xiv. 34; Mark ix. 50; light, Luke viii. 16, xi. 33; Mark iv. 21 (partly to the disciples, partly to the people). The figure of salt not in the Old Test. (Col. iv. 6); yet comp. Job vi. 6: ἄρτος ἄνευ ἁλός. Light, Israel the light of the Gentiles, Is. xlii. 6, lx. 1, &c. Rabbi Jochanan ben Sakkai was called ner olam, the light of the world. Schöttgen, p. 25.

[2] Comp. the limitation, Matt. v. 15. Diffusion among the Gentiles, see preceding note, and in Jewish tradition, Schneck., *Beitr.* p. 81.

the salt can lose its virtue and the light can be consumed in vain. But who would, as virtueless salt incapable of recovering its virtue because no one on earth can salt it again, be thrown away as unfit for anything except to cover the streets and to be trodden under men's feet in Galilee, as salt was on the hill of the temple ?[1] Who, when he was like a town on a hill and lying in the light, would hide himself from the eyes of men ? Who would kindle a light in order to put it under a bushel, instead of on a stand whence it might shine upon all in the house ?[2] From the impossibility of such perversity in the circle of the disciples, springs the immediate application, the direct and practical injunction : " So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father in heaven !"[3] This injunction is at the same time an exposition. What is the salt of the earth, what is the light of the world, to do ? Preach, travel, call the world to conversion ? Not at all in the first instance, though the later Apostles stand in this circle, and afterwards the address refers to teachers of the Law. But simply to walk and act piously, with a pure heart and clean hands ; to be merciful, to promote peace, to endure persecution with patience ; to live as a virtuous brotherhood, like the Essenes, but in the midst of the world ; to be a city, a community displayed before the eyes of the dwellers in the valley, and, without preaching or disputation, simply in the sight of the godlike pious, to acknowledge and believe in and glorify the God who is akin to them, is creative in them, and whom they have learnt by inference to recognize as " their Father."[4]

[1] To be translated : wherewith shall the salt be salted ? Mark ix. 50 (salt becomes saltless). Covering of the streets, *Erub.* f. 104, 1 : spargunt salem in clivo, ne nutent (pedes). Schöttgen, p. 24.

[2] Fulgent. 3, 6 : lucernam modio contegit. By the city, Weizsäcker (p. 336) thinks Jerusalem is meant. But the Galilean hill towns ? See above, Vol. II. p. 18.

[3] Comp. Hebr. hikbid., Rabb. illustrare, glorif., exalt., pulcrum facere Deum. Schöttgen, p. 25. Noteworthy, *Soh. Lev.* f. 2 : quando Isr. perfecti sunt in oper., etiam nomen Dei s. *perfectius* redditur. Sch. p. 49. This passage is evidently made use of in 1 Pet. ii. 12. Jesus himself a pattern, Matt. xi. 29.

[4] This has been made the fundamental idea in 1 Pet. iii. 1, &c.

The third part of the Sermon on the Mount is the largest and the most important. It exhibits the noble works of the city on the hill, the details of the duties of the field of labour, the *spiritual ordinances of the kingdom of heaven.* But in Israel there can be no doubt concerning the ordinances of God,—they are the Law of Moses, or the Law and the Prophets, so far as the latter, having not only revealed God's will as to the future, have also made known His moral will, His requirements.[1] Will Jesus teach other ordinances of God, will he be a second Moses, still solemnly standing on Mount Sinai? No; in a striking manner he protests, in the presence of his disciples, against the opinion that he intends to abrogate either the Law or the Prophets: "*I am not come to abrogate, but to fulfil.*"[2] It is not exactly known why he made this protest, whether on account of a false assumption of the disciples or of the people, or on account of a calumny originated by his early opponents; nor is it known upon what the opinion or the false accusation could have been based. It must not be imagined that he credited any one with thinking he would abrogate and mishandle the Law in the same way as the Scribes: for no one credited the Scribes with doing this, although they did it; and no one found in him a mere copy of the Scribes. Nor must it be imagined that many, on the ground of Old Testament passages concerning the time of the Messiah, expected a new law, a new covenant: for no one at this period regarded him as the Messiah.[3] The preconceived opinion must have arisen,

[1] Thus Matt. vii. 12; but already, v. 19 sqq. Calvin correctly, opp. Beza. Predictions have been thought of by the Fathers, the Reformers, and moderns, even when their starting-point is correct, Bleek, I. p. 247.

[2] Matt. v. 17. The Law *or* the Prophets, disjunctive copulative, Matt. vii. 12; Luke xxiv. 44.

[3] The Scribes had in reality partly abrogated the Law, Matt. v. 19, 20, xv. 3, xxiii. 23. Above, Vol. I. p. 335. Lightfoot, p. 31: verba scribarum pulcriora sunt verbis *legis* et graviora sunt verbis *prophetarum.* The coming of the Messiah brings a change: καινὰ ἃ ἐγὼ ἀναγγέλλω, Is. xlii. 9; Jer. xxxi. 31. The Law, Ez. xxxvi. 26 sqq. Certainly ὁ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, Baruch iv. 1. Ἕως ἂν ἥλιος κ. σελήνη κ. ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός τε καὶ κόσμος ᾖ, Philo, *Vita Mos.* ed. Mang. II. p. 656. Josephus, *Con. Ap.* 2, 38. *Bereshi. R.* f. 10, 1: omni rei suus finis, cœlo et terræ suus finis, una excepta re, cui non est finis, hæc est lex. *Shemot:* nulla lit. aboletur a lege

both among friends and foes, from the fact that in the daily practical life of Jesus the Law retreated to the background, or, more correctly, the multiplied details of the legal traditions of the Scribes which were confounded with the Law itself, and which were certainly not represented in his daily life from the beginning.[1] The conclusion that could be drawn from this, and that could become more and more comprehensive in its reference —viz., that he, like his predecessor the Baptist, though in another way, slighted the Law—had come to his knowledge; and to the astonishment of his hearers, his protestation was converted into a most solemn recognition of the Law and the Prophets, and a crushing condemnation of those Scribes whose legalistic severity seemed to be the means of demonstrating his indifference to the Law.[2] "I am not come to abrogate, but to fulfil." This utterance has given rise to only too many conjectures. Fulfilment is a vague idea; and the word itself has led men to think sometimes of a carrying out of the Law, sometimes of a development and completion of it, sometimes of both; and under the carrying out of the Law, theologians, inconsistently, it is true, with the context, but to their own satisfaction, have been fond of understanding, not a realization of the Law in humanity, but the personal doings of Jesus to his death on the cross.[3]

in æternum. *Midr. Coh.:* perpetuo manebit in sec. sec. Comp. Schöttgen, p. 30. *On the other hand*, again, *Midr. shir. hash.:* dixit R. Chijah: referendum est hoc ad dies Messiæ. Res magna eventura est mundo, lex convertetur ad novitatem et renovabitur Israeli. *Jalk. Shim.* upon Isaiah: Deus sedebit prædicans novam legem, quam daturus est per Messiam. *Emek. hamm.* on Is. xii. 3: aquæ salutis nil aliud quam lex Messiæ; sunt autem arcana illa, quæ antiquus dierum obtexit et conclusit, ne revelentur usque ad adventum salvatoris. Bertholdt, pp. 164 sq. Tholuck. Meyer, p. 140. Oehler, *Messias*, p. 441. It is well known that Strauss, I. p. 646 (after Fritzsche), hastily concluded that Jesus, at that period not yet the Messiah, could not have uttered this purely Messianic sentence at least until later; but where hides the (not until vii. 22 visible) Messianic? The Baptist, any prophetic man with the consciousness of a divine work to perform in Israel, could have thus spoken.

[1] Matt. ix. 14, xv. 1; Luke xi. 38. Similarly Neander, Stier. Olsh. and Bleek speak of libertinism in the disciples! Bleek, p. 246.

[2] John, see above, Vol. II. pp. 228 sq., 255.

[3] The explanation, "completion" appeared in early times, and that naturally, because the superiority of Jesus to the mere Jewish Law was thus proved, a superiority

Happily, the lucid utterance of Jesus himself decides this question. If the subsequent detailed new interpretation of the Law by the spirit and the words of Jesus makes it appear that he had in mind an internal and intrinsic completion of the Law, yet this opinion is at once shown to be incorrect by the impressive defence afforded by every word of his to the continuance of the very letter of the Law; and it is still more completely contradicted by the express declaration of Jesus himself concerning the character of his fulfilment. His fulfilment consists in teaching and doing the Law, and in enjoining the doing of the Law until all was done and all had come to pass. His charge against the Scribes is, that their righteousness is defective because, despite all their pretence of observing the Law, they do not teach the Law, still less do they observe it, but that, on the contrary, they do not touch even with their finger the ordinances which they have themselves devised and which they impose as a yoke upon the people.[1] His fulfilment is a realization in doctrine

which was missed by so many, both Christians and their opponents; comp. Marcion and Julian, in Tholuck. Thus is the passage quoted and explained in *Shabb.* c. 16 (according to Hilg., from *Gospel of the Heb.* 16, 21, 22): non ut tollerem, sed ut adderem (hosiph). Irenæus, 4, 13: extendit et implevit. Tert., *Poen.* 3: adjectionem legi superstruit. Jerome on the passage: rudia et imperfecta complevit (Tholuck). Chrysos. on John v. 19: *διόρθωσις νομοθεσίας*. Aug. on the passage: addit; on John v.: perficit. So also the Reformers, Soc., Arm., and many moderns, even Strauss and Hilgenfeld. The carrying out of the Law, Chrysos. on the passage (Tholuck), and also Aug. *C. Faust.* 17, 5, 6; Beza, Bleek, Tholuck, Planck (*Princ. d. Ebion.*, Theol. Jahrbb. 1843), Lechler, Weizsäcker. Certainly many would understand both, *e. g.* Chrys., Aug., Thol.; also is the personal active and suffering obedience of Jesus mixed up with the passage by the Fathers and Luther. We must altogether discard the explanation: fulfilment of predictions (Clem. *Strom.* 3, 6, 46, and others, even Bleek) and doctrines, Chald. gemar (Vitringa, Schöttgen, and others). Looked at closely, the words mean *to destroy*, Matt. xxvi. 61, comp. xv. 13; and *to make full*, *e. g.* to man a ship, Herod., Thuc., Xen.; to fill the soul with food, Eur.; to fill up the measure of the fathers, Matt. xxiii. 32; the Law, Gal. v. 14; the days, the times, Luke ix. 51, xxi. 24. This more material signification, however, naturally passes over into the more spiritual one of satisfaction, accomplishment, *πλ. ἐπιθυμίαν, θυμὸν, χρείαν*; N. T., *γραφὴν*, Matt. xxvi. 56; *δίκαιος.*, iii. 15; *νόμον*, Rom. xiii. 8 (differently Gal. v. 14). Since in Gal. v. 14, Rom. xiii. 8, the fulfilling of the Law can signify both a perfecting and an executing, the context must decide which meaning is *here* to be adopted. The context, however, vers. 17—20 (comp. xxiii. 3, 4), speaks plainly enough.

[1] Matt. v. 18, 19 (thus Aug.); comp. vii. 12, 20—24, xii. 50. Complaint against the Scribes, v. 20, vi. 2, 5, xxiii. 3, 4.

and deed; and the noble works of the city on the hill are seen in the fact that a serious effort is made to keep the Law, and that thus the Law itself rises again from the infinite mass of rubbish under which it had been buried.

His earnestness in thus perpetuating the Law, in thus restoring it to a position of authority and influence in every-day life, for the present and the future, is at once confirmed by a genuinely Jewish affirmation, and by an insistance upon the maintenance of the very letter. "For verily, I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass away, one iota or one single little stroke shall in no wise pass away from the Law, till all be fulfilled."[1] The iota was the smallest letter in the post-exile alphabet of the people, the little stroke or little curve was the finest and smallest curved stroke, the scarcely visible element and fragment of a letter; even to the vanishingly small, the very smallest, command must everything be fulfilled; the word of God cannot return void, but must remain until heaven and earth and all creatures pass away—which will never pass away, or not until everything that is finite, until man and every human ordinance, decay, and God alone remains.[2] From this dignity

[1] Matt. v. 18.

[2] The iota, in the earlier alphabets, three fingers (oath), comp. Winer, *Schrift;* the tables in 8th ed. by Schrader of De Wette's *Einl. ins A. T.* See also above, p. 297, note 3. *Sanh.* f. 20, 3: testamentum vacillans in aliqua parte (thus the book of Deut. complains to God against Solomon, on the ground of Deut. xvii. 17) vacillat in toto (comp. Deut. xxvii. 26; Gal. iii. 10). God answers: Salomo et mille similes illi peribunt, at vocula de te non peribit. Apicula una de lit. Jod non peribit. On iota, a name applied also to little towns or persons, see Lightfoot, p. 283; Schöttgen, p. 28. On the little curved stroke, *Tanchum*, f. 1, 1: quicunque Cheth in He commutaverit, destruit mundum. Quic. Beth in Caph comm., d. m. Qui Daleth in Resh comm., d. m. "Till heaven and earth pass away," may be the expression of the finite, after which comes the new, or the infinite, though relative with respect to God. Similar phraseology is often found in the sense of the relative cosmical infinity: Gen. viii. 22; Ps. lxxii. 7, cii. 26, 27; Job xiv. 12; Baruch i. 11. Comp. the passages given above, p. 297, note 3. The very stress laid upon the antithesis between the end and God (Ps. cii. 27) or the words of Jesus (Matt. xxiv. 34), brings out the greatness of God or of Jesus by contrast with the relative infinity of the universe. Luke, xvi. 17 (opp. Marc., in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4, 33), understands the words in this sense of relative infinity; and in fact Jesus could only thus, without an internal contradiction, have made a solemn declaration *for* the Law. At the same time, he is by no means think-

and this unending permanence of the Law naturally flows the inference as to the future, as to the lives and conduct of the disciples: "Whosoever shall break, in teaching and in practice, one of these least commandments, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach it, shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."[1] And like a lightning-flash, which shines from east to west, and strikes where no one expected, so is the inference darted back from the future into the past and the present. It is made use of in a comprehensive, incisive, throughout remarkably unsparing and outspoken criticism of the wide-spread, prevalent dogmatics and ethics of the Israelitish present; and upon the ruins of the latter is inscribed, in large, plain, distinctly-written characters, the affirmation, the legality, insisted upon by Jesus. "For I say unto you, that except your righteousness shall exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." With these words he opens—surprisingly, because the Pharisees appeared to observe exactly those little things, the iota, the letter of the Law; and declaratively, asserting that since they neglected the great *and* did not observe the little, therefore they not only would be little in the kingdom of heaven, but had to expect exclusion—thus he opens his profound *criticism on the prevailing system*, his attack upon the old and powerful Pharisaism, his proclamation of a new morality preparatory to the new religion, which was nevertheless ultimately the mother also of the former.[2]

ing of an end of heaven and earth; comp. Matt. vi. 19, 20, xxii. 30. The passages xix. 28, xxiv. 29, do not point to an absolute end, which is spoken of in Is. lxv. 17; Rev. xxi. 1; 2 Peter iii. 13.

[1] I cannot, with Sin., D, It., strike out the second hemistich of verse 19, for the omission is sufficiently explained by the similarity of the concluding words. The very solemnity of the asseveration demands copiousness and affirmative completeness; moreover, the position of the *doing* before the *teaching* is original.

[2] Pharisaic insistance upon little things, Matt. xv. 2, 3, xxiii. 23, 26. Do neither great things nor little, xxiii. 3, 4, 23. The Pharisees themselves distinguish between great and little, though in a very different way from Jesus: in verbis legis sunt vetita quædam, quædam permissa, in his sunt levia et gravia, at verba scribarum omnia gravia. Gfrörer, *Jahrh. Heils*, I. p. 146; Lightfoot, p. 330; Schöttgen, pp. 30, 136.

His opposition to the Pharisees is developed in two well-constructed series of attacks. After some preliminary remarks, he dwells first on their teaching and their exposition of the Law; and then—if we take in the later address of the sixth chapter—upon their favourite religious acts and pious exercises. First, he refers to their theory, which indeed seeks to realize itself in practice; and then to their practice. It is easy to perceive here, that Jesus confines his initial attack essentially to the most vital points, to the Law and the immediate exposition of the Law; he refrains at present from that criticism of the arbitrary additions to the Law which he later brought so crushingly to bear upon his opponents.[1] In the present day, it is a matter of dispute whether these attacks are really directed against the Pharisees, and we are about to prove the very opposite of what many think. The criticism of the theory is said to be directed against the Law of Moses itself, the criticism of the practice against the Pharisees. The fact is, on the contrary, that the former criticism is directed against the Pharisees, and the latter against only a class, against the hypocritical among the Jews and among the Pharisees. The second is shown by the words, as well as by the probability that Jesus did not at first thus harshly reject Pharisaism as a whole; and even in his criticism of the theory, he notoriously rejected it, not harshly, but with some reservation.[2] We must examine the criticism of the theory more in detail. It is true that the solemn formula of Jesus can be translated, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old, . . . but I say unto you!" And this may suggest the ancient people and Moses, the lawgiver.[3]

Comp. the references to Matt. xxii. 36, xxiii. 23. On the objections against the genuineness of Matt. v. 18, 19, see below.

[1] Matt. xv. 1, xxiii. 1.

[2] On the distinction made by the Pharisees themselves and their contemporaries between persons who were sincere and those who were "painted" or hypocritical, see above, Vol. I. pp. 344, 345. More in detail below.

[3] Thus the old view of the Fathers, the Catholics, Socin., even of Neander and Baumgarten-Crusius. Tholuck; Bleek (I. p. 257); Ritschl (*Altk. K.* p. 43); Stockmeier in Hagenbach's *K. Z.*, 1868, Jan. See, as historian (with a mixture of what is unsound), Bleek, I. pp. 256, 257.

It is also true that several antitheses seem aimed at the mere letter of the Law of Moses without any Pharisaic addition, and several at the letter to which additions had been made from the Law itself.[1] But who can think it possible that Jesus, a moment after he had solemnly confessed the Law of Moses, would directly confront that Law, not for the purpose of improving it, but of abrogating it; or that he, a moment after he had announced his unrelenting antagonism to the Pharisees only, would be betrayed into antagonism against Moses? We can, moreover, appeal to the condemned sentences themselves: some are unmistakably Pharisaic, mere worthless additions to the Law, and all are specimens of superficial and trivial literalism. Therefore, even if we translate, "It was said to those of old," we must not think of the very ancient people, the contemporaries of Moses, but of the later people who had been under the hands of the Scribes. But the formula can be much better translated, and indeed on both linguistic and logical grounds must be translated, thus: "Ye have heard that it was said *by* them of old, ... but *I* say unto you!"[2] The persons spoken of are the well-known ancients, the presbyters of Jewish tradition, mentioned also in the New

[1] Matt. v. 27, 38; also v. 21, 31, 33, 43.

[2] With a dative sense, Tholuck, De Wette, Meyer, Bleek, Ritschl, Weizsäcker. With an ablative sense, Beza, Schöttgen, Fritzsche, Ewald, Lechler. In the New Test. the expression, "It is said," is certainly usually read with the dative, Gal. iii. 16; Rom. ix. 12, 26; but the ablative sense is quite possible, *εἴρηται ἐμοί, τισί*, Luke xxiii. 15. Winer, *Gramm.* § 31. This explanation is here doubly necessary, although apparently the antitheses form a good parallel, (1) *ἐρρέθη—ἐγώ*, (2) *ἀρχαίοις—ὑμῖν*. For, first, the *ἐγώ* requires a more emphatic antithesis, since the most important point is the speaker, not those spoken to; against which it is not enough to object that in that case τ. *ἀρχ.* ought to have stood before the verb (it stands as near as possible to *ἐγώ*), or that afterwards *ἐρρήθη* repeatedly stands alone, and that therefore the whole antithesis is concentrated in the verb (it would be enough for the *complete* antithesis to stand only in vers. 21, 33). Secondly, Jesus could lay stress on what the *ancient* teachers had said (ameru kadmonenu, Schöttgen, p. 33), because these teachers were the authorities for the present also (comp. v. 20), but not upon what Moses or later teachers had said to the *ancient* people. The latter was a matter of indifference; nay, to lay stress upon it would have been absurd, because the chief thing to be considered was the teaching given to the people *of the present*, and because the people of the present "had heard," not what had been taught to the *ancient* people, but what had been taught to themselves.

Testament, the old teachers of the Law from the times of Ezra, the teachers whose tradition was on the lips of the young in the school and among the people, in the synagogue and in the market-place. Jesus fought, not against Moses, but in the name of Moses against the expositors of Moses.[1]

We now come to the theory of Jesus against the theory of the ancients, the expositors. He solemnly and emphatically establishes his positions in six paragraphs, each marked by the repetition of the antithetic formula.[2] There is order even in the sequence of the antitheses. It can be easily perceived that he has here relied upon the ten Mosaic commandments, which he everywhere respects as the utterance of God; yet he has done this with considerable freedom, for his purpose is to be concise and yet comprehensive, to bring into view the actual fundamental injuries inflicted by his opponents and his own fundamental requirements. There is here nothing more noteworthy than the fact that he confines himself to the commandments of the second table. He has, by generally confining himself to this, borne testimony to the soundness of the religion which, with all its ardent yearning after God, is nevertheless almost more zealous for men than for God; and he has also shown how disparagingly and rebelliously Pharisaism must have dissipated, curtailed, and falsified that noble bequest of Mosaism—humanity and the love of our neighbour. It is true that in the hands of Jesus the second table acquires a different aspect. In the old Law, the first table contained the commandments, the second had only prohibitions: God is to be honoured, while men are

[1] The *ἀρχαῖοι*, as Luke ix. 8 (for which, Zech. i. 4, vii. 12, *οἱ ἔμπροσθεν*), or Matt. xv. 2, *πρεσβύτεροι*. By the Rabbis, chasidim (chachamim) rishonim (Deut. xix. 14), Lightfoot, p. 285; or kadmonim (comp. *ἀρχαῖος*, 1 Sam. xxiv. 13). Comp. *παράδοσις πατέρων*, &c. Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 10, 6; Gal. i. 14. It is ridiculous to assert that *ἀρχ.* is not found used for at least the ancient Scribes. Tholuck; Bleek (I. p. 256).

[2] "Ye have heard" in the synagogue (see above, Vol. II. p. 157), also in the Talmud: shamëu, audiverunt. Lightfoot, p. 285. "It is said," itamar B. 124. Schöttgen, p. 33. Ewald and Kostlin reckon seven antitheses, adding v. 42 to the six. Comp. below, p. 316, note 1.

merely protected from evil. Jesus has to do only with the second table, but to the prohibitions of evil are added commands to do good. In three sentences he describes the sin against our neighbour, and in three the love of men.[1]

There are, then, three and three antitheses in the theory of the Law. Judaism did not know any higher moral prohibitions than the two: "Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery!" As they seem to have had precedence in time, so has Jesus here and elsewhere placed them in the first rank. Nay, since there was nothing greater, and the other commandments—particularly the tenth, "Thou shalt not covet!"—were themselves included in these two prohibitions, the latter comprehended the whole series. What comes next as a third, the prohibition of divorce, is in every respect only an addition to the second, or, we may say, an application of it.[2] Following the order of the Hebrew Bible, Jesus begins with the prohibition of murder, which the Greek translation, in its less robust morality, is inclined to put second; he follows, however, the order adopted by the Scribes.[3] "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgment." What does he find objectionable in this prompt justice against the capital crime of society? If the concise Law says merely, "Thou shalt not kill," is not the addition in harmony with the spirit and even with the letter of the Law?[4] "But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be

[1] Antithesis 1 (Matt. v. 21) corresponds to the sixth commandment (Ex. xx. 13); ant. 2 (ver. 27), seventh and tenth comm. (Ex. xx. 14, 17); ant. 3 (ver. 31), the same comm.; ant. 4 (ver. 33), the ninth comm. (Ex. xx. 16); ant. 5 and 6 = tenth comm. (ἐπιθυμία, also θυμός for conflict, Gal. v. 16 sqq.). Jesus generally kept the second table chiefly in view; Matt. xix. 18, &c. A chiefly verbally affirmative turn of the construction of the commandments inculcating truthfulness and patient and active love; indeed, from the beginning, there is a striving after a positive construction; comp. ant. 1, 2. Similarly, Hilg., 1867, p. 375.

[2] Consequently Hilgenfeld (p. 375) reckons only five antitheses.

[3] In the parallel passages to Matt. xix. 18, Luke and Mark place adultery before murder, as Cod. Vat. of Exodus xx. 13. Philo, *De Decal.*, comp. Weizsäcker, p. 356.

[4] Ex. xx. 13; Deut. v. 17.

in danger of the judgment; and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca! (good-for-nothing!) shall be in danger of the high council (Sanhedrim); and whosoever shall say, Fool! (godless!) shall be in danger of hell-fire."[1] We see what it is he misses. The mere prohibition of murder, the cold, juridical, genuinely Pharisaic reference to the judgment, is not enough.[2] The crime is not sufficiently condemned. It is true that for murder, for the horrible and impossible offence, there is no further punishment; but besides murder, there are other deeds of violence which are still prevalent, offences not merely of the fist but of the mouth, offences which are not recognized, not punished, though they deserve the whole scale of punishments to the very highest, from the lower judgment to the higher, even to hell-fire; and the ancient lawgiver had included in his prohibition of murder these offences, which his successors had ignored. Jesus significantly adds two things. In the first place, all sacrifices offered to God are worthless unless the injustice of word or deed against one's neighbour be previously expiated. "Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remember that thy brother has aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and first go thy way and be reconciled to thy brother,

[1] Much juridical casuistry among the Jew, comp. Lightfoot, p. 286, also above, Vol. I. p. 340; but little ethics. Yet a judicium Dei is spoken of as well as a judicium hominum. Schöttgen, p. 34. Interesting parallel, *Sohar. Ex.* f. 50: quic. prox. s. vocat rasha (godless), ille detruditur in gehennam. Schöttgen, *l. c.*

[2] Triple climax (comp. among the Jews, Lightfoot, p. 287): (1) Anger (strike out the spurious and cautious εἰκῇ, Eph. iv. 26) against a brother (=Israelitish compatriot, Lightfoot, p. 285) comes before the lower tribunals in the towns of Israel, Deut. xvi. 18; Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 8, 14 (seven men). The Talmud distinguishes between the tribunal of three men and that of twenty-three (little Sanhedrim, Lightfoot, p. 895; Winer, *Gericht, Synedrium*). (2) Rek (Aram. with article Reka= empty, κενός, James ii. 20, a frequent word of contempt among the Jews, especially against the Gentiles, Lightfoot, p. 286), this term of abuse, Good-for-nothing! comes before the great Sanhedrim of seventy, which has the prerogative of sentencing the criminal to death without appeal. (3) The abusive term Fool! nabal (Greek, ἄφρων, λοιμός, Ps. xiv. 1; Job ii. 10; 1 Sam. xxv. 25)=godless, renders the offender obnoxious to hell-fire (γέεννα, from ge bene Hinnom, Valley of the sons of Hinnom, on the south of Jerusalem, where, until the time of king Josiah, children were sacrificed to Moloch, 2 Kings xxiii. 10. The place of the worship of the gods is=Hell or the Gate of Hell. Lightfoot, p. 286).

and then come and bring thy gift." A remarkably fine sentence, commanding even the postponement of sacrifice if, at the last moment, at the very altar steps, a dark memory disturbs the worshipper's reflections over his moral purity before God. A similar thing might have been said by isolated Jewish teachers, but by very few, because in their estimation the outward sacrifice covered everything; nay, it could have been seriously meant by none of them, because each of them regarded the withholding of sacrifice with horror.[1] In the next place, Jesus exhibits the responsibility and punishment incident to quarrels between neighbours, in a well-conceived Eastern combination of pictures of the earthly and the heavenly judge. "Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way with him (to the judge), so that the adversary may not deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison. Verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the last farthing."[2]

The second great prohibition is that of adultery. The same defect, the same correction, as in the case of the first prohibition. Pharisaism went no further than to prohibit, "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" but under these few words, the lawgiver had prohibited more than the mere outward act, which, it is true, Pharisaism also utterly refused to tolerate.[3] "But I say unto

[1] δῶρον = korban (Mark vii. 11; Matt. xxvii. 6; Josephus, *B. J.* 2, 9, 4; *Ant.* 4, 4, 4). Similar Jewish passage in Lightfoot, p. 287 (restitutio furti usque ad prutham —to the very smallest part, see next note—ante oblationem). More details in Schöttgen, p. 35. But a withholding of sacrifice is not permitted, or at most of the libamen post sacrificium. Comp., however, *Jom.* f. 85, 2: dies expiationis expiat, quæ homo c. Deum commisit, sed quæ c. proximum commisit, non expiat, donec cum eo in gratiam redierit. Schöttgen, p. 63.

[2] This verse is usually understood (see Schöttgen, p. 36) as only symbolic of the relation to God; but the material basis drawn from actual life is its fundamental feature, and gives it its independence. The officer, lictor judicii, Lightfoot, p. 288. Farthing (2 peruthot) is the fourth of an *as;* an *as* was only $\frac{1}{96}$ of a pound of copper, $\frac{1}{16}$ of a denarius. Horace, *Ep.* 2, 2, 27: omnia perdere ad assem.

[3] Noli mœchari, Schöttgen, p. 26. Aspiciens calcaneum, minimum digitum feminæ est ac si coiret, Lightfoot, p. 290. The mere thought, Schöttgen, p. 37. On the other hand, it is a disgusting ground of boasting, that renowned Rabbis sat by the

you, that whosoever looks on a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery with her already in his heart."[1] Truly, here his prohibitions pass beyond the act, or the word, to the very demeanour, to the secret province of the heart, which, in the opinion of the people, was independent of the external law; and he makes the man who sins in heart as obnoxious to the penalty of death as he who sins in act. War, therefore, war to the death, does Jesus wage against the lusts of the heart, a more determined war than that waged by the Rabbis against the same offences. "If the right eye, the right hand, any one of the very best of thy members, seduces thee to evil, pluck it out, cut it off, as is done with criminals; it is better that one member should be lost, than that the whole body should go to hell!"[2] He does not mean this literally; he recognizes no cutting and piercing, no Indian penance, torture, and slaying. But he finds the real sinner in the heart, and not in the bodily member; it is, however, his purpose to inculcate the necessity of guarding the heart by controlling the member which is the material source of enticement, by strict discipline, retirement from the world, and even physically mortifying abstinence.

The third prohibition, that of divorce, is an appendix to the second. "Whosoever puts away his wife, say the Scribes, let him give her a writing of divorcement." Thus have they briefly and conveniently formulated a definition of the Law itself; and in showing themselves thus accommodating, they have given evidence of their willingness to make divorce as free from inconvenience as possible, and on their own part not to be over-

bathing-places of women in order to show that in eos dominari non potuit malus affectus.

[1] Comp. tenth commandment, Ex. xx. 17.

[2] Cutting off the hand often mentioned by Josephus as practised in the Galilean war, *Vita*, 30, 34, 35. The expression also in Matt. xviii. 8; Mark ix. 43. Similarly by the Rabbis: qui manum ad membrum vir. admovet, abscindatur manus ejus ad umbil. usque. Præstat ut findatur venter ejus, quam ut ipse descendat in puteum corruptionis. Lightfoot, p. 289. Comp. 1 Cor. v. 5. Seneca, *Ep.* 25: alterius vita emendanda, alt. *frangenda* sunt.

scrupulous, but to be satisfied with such a practical course of action as shall not do violence to the external form of the legal precept.[1] In reality, they have been only too accommodating. The Law imposed upon divorce a moral limitation, making it dependent upon an actual odious offence on the part of the woman; but the majority of the Scribes have, in the interests of Eastern sensuality, derisively broken down the limitation; and the Scribes of Jesus ignore *any* limitation whatever, and recognize any frivolous pretext, if only the bill of divorce be written, the external ordinance of Moses be complied with.[2] "But I say unto you, whosoever puts away his wife causes her to commit adultery with her seducer or so-called husband." Since Jesus finds adultery in the mere lusting after a woman, he is only consistent when he discovers in the bill of divorce, given as a rule at the instigation of lust, consummated adultery, not only on the part of the man, whose crime of horrible and perpetual adultery is not for a moment questionable, but also on the part

[1] The passage contains an allusion to Deut. xxiv. 1; but there the condition on which the bill of divorce (sepher keritut, *ἀποστασίου βιβλίον*, *ἀποστάσιον*) may be given is added: ervat dabar, *ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα* (comp. Deut. xxii. 14, 17). A form in Lightfoot, p. 291: die hebdom. N. mensis N. anni N. in provincia N. ego N., filius N., de civitate N., cum summo animi consensu—repudiavi, dimisi atque expuli te N., &c. Only in special cases were men bound, Deut. xxii. 19, 29.

[2] The strict Shammai, in accordance with the Law, held fast the turpitudo, turpis nuditas, a point upon which so much stress was laid, that the mere going out capite non velato, nudata cervice, was sufficient ground for a divorce. Lightfoot, p. 290. On this account, many Rabbis, when they went out, locked up their wives. *Bammidb. rabb.* s. 9, thus fixes Shammai's precept: Shammæani dicunt: ne ejiciat quis uxorem, nisi in ea inveniatur adulterium. Schöttgen, p. 157. Others, more compliant, allowed divorce in the case of a woman non bene morata (comp. Josephus on his wife: *μὴ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῆς τοῖς ἤθεσι*, *Vita*, 76) et quæ non modesta sit. Hillel's school: si esculenta mariti nimia salsedine aut nimia tostione male conficiat uxor. Unsatisfactory interpretation by modern Jews, see above, Vol. I. p. 351. Rabbi Akiba: si quis mulierem videat uxore formosiorem, ux. dimitt. licet, quia dictum est: si gratiam non assequatur in oculis ejus (Deut. xxiv. 1). Hence Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 8, 23: *καθ' ἃς δήποτ' οὖν αἰτίας. πολλαὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιαῦται γίνοιντο*; also Matt. xix. 3: *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*. Hence the scandal of many divorces, and the boast, Deum nomen suum repudiis non subscripsisse, nisi solum inter Israelitas, only to these is the precious privilege granted, Lightfoot, pp. 290 sq. Sometimes, however, maxims like the following: dimissio uxoris est odiosa. De dimissione uxoris primæ vel ipsum altare fundit lacrymas.

of the woman, and still more—since the woman is the passive victim—on the part of the second husband of her who legally and in God's sight is still the wife of the man who first put her away.[1] Certainly this strict exposition by Jesus does not appear to find a basis in the Law, for it permits divorce under no circumstances whatever, while the Law allowed it, at least when odious guilt had been incurred. It was, perhaps, this objection which led our first Gospel or its corrector—very active in what concerned the marriage question—to allow the legal exception, according to which Jesus, like Shammai, is made to permit divorce "on the ground of sexual infidelity." But this addition is interpolated, as Luke and Mark, and even Matthew, show, and as is proved by Jesus' utterly inflexible severity and his general view of the indissolubility of the marriage bond. Though this severity may be neither Mosaic nor legal, yet Jesus finds in the spirit and essence of the Mosaic prohibition of adultery the prohibition of divorce also; and in the Mosaic exception, in the supplementary permission of divorce, a descent from the elevation of divine law, an accommodation to human hardness of heart, a concession which, though temporarily granted, was, as he afterwards said openly, to be withdrawn on the advent of the kingdom of heaven.[2] His prohibitions are throughout thus severe. If we examine his three prohibitions, we shall find we are in a new moral world, which he upholds as the Mosaic in contradistinction to the Mosaists. The latter are lax

[1] The woman might marry again. In the bill of divorce, signed by witnesses, is expressly stated: ita ut libera et de tuo jure sis, nuptum iri cuicunque placuerit et nemo te reprimat ab hodierno die usque in perpetuum. Libera es ergo cuivis homini (Rom. vii. 3), Lightfoot, p. 291. But the text of our passage is, *ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τ. γυν. ἀ. ποιεῖ ἀ. μοιχευθῆναι.* The passage in the Text. Rec. is as corrupt as that of xix. 9. Tischendorf has not sufficiently corrected it. On the testimony of Augustine, the conclusion, "whosoever shall marry one that is divorced," &c., should be struck out, all the more because the passive in the former part (instead of the middle *μοιχᾶσθαι*) gives the conclusion the appearance of an unattested repetition. As to the removal of the exception of fornication, see the classical passage, xix. 9, where it is thrown out both by the sense of the passage and by important testimonies.

[2] Matt. ix. 3 sqq. Observe, that in the Decalogue, Ex. xx., mention is made of adultery; but of divorce, not until Deut. xxiv.

moralists, he is a severe one. They expound Moses according to the letter, he according to the spirit, and yet also according to the letter; for the lawgiver who forbade covetousness, included reviling in his prohibition of murder, and the lascivious look in his prohibition of adultery. The source of these differences in the exposition of Moses is, that the view of the Scribes is merely a superficial, juridical one, which takes account simply of the outward act, while Jesus' acute, profound, and spiritual conception lays hold of the inner feeling, the sin of the heart.

After the three prohibitions come the three commands, the review of a man's duty to his neighbour, including both what he ought to do and what he ought not to do. This morality recognizes not only vices, but also obligations which spring from a profound conception of what is good, and from a profound conception of the dignity of man, of oneself, and of one's neighbour. The ordinances of the table of the Law are here apparently forsaken, yet in point of fact Jesus still adheres to that table; the prohibition of false witness becomes an inculcation of truthfulness; the prohibition of covetousness becomes an inculcation of passive and active love. Thus we have the beautiful triplet —how to speak, to suffer, and to act, in our intercourse with others.[1] The first command is introduced by the precept of the Scribes, "Thou shall not swear falsely, but shalt perform thine oaths to the Lord." The precept at first looks as if Jesus were thinking of the first table, of the indebtedness of men to the Lord of heaven; but the context and Jesus' application show the contrary.[2] The precept also looks correctly legal, and in point of fact its two parts stand in the Old Testament; but the combination of the two parts and the spirit of the precept are Pharisaic.[3] The Old Testament had forbidden every kind of

[1] Matt. v. 33—48; comp. Ex. xx. 16, 17. Comp. also Hilg. pp. 377 sq.

[2] Matt. v. 33; comp. Ex. xx. 7 *and* 16.

[3] The two corresponding passages in the Old Test. (certainly separated from each other), Levit. xix. 12; Deut. xxiii. 21 (*οὐ χρονιεῖς ἀποδοῦναι εὐχήν*). Oaths often presupposed in the Old Test., Ex. xxii. 11; Levit. vi. 3, 5.

perjury; but the Scribes, with their barren repetitions, did not trouble themselves with the exposition of the nature and compass of false and trivial oaths and asseverations. The combination of the two sentences was in the interest of the self-deception that allowed and indulged in every kind of trifling oath with which no sacrificial vow is connected, or—and to these teachers this is the principal thing—the sacrificial vow connected with which is punctually fulfilled.[1] Every asseveration, every fraud against God or man, or even perjury, was allowed if it were only sanctified, cleansed, by a sacrifice.[2] We learn from the Rabbis, as well as from the lips of Jesus, what abuses were connected with oaths in the daily life of the loquacious, pretentious, and crafty East, and how the guardians of the Law of Moses helped, by subtle and ridiculous interpretations, to expose to the misuse of the people, as harmless, innocent, and void of obligatory force, a number of formulæ in which neither God nor the temple nor the altar was expressly named.[3] Thus was the precept, "Thou shalt not commit perjury," guarded by them. "But I command you not to swear at all; neither by heaven, for it (according to Isaiah) is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool; nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great

[1] Matt. xxiii. 16 sqq. Rule for proselytes, *Abot. Nat.* 1: noli votum destruere. Schöttgen, p. 26.

[2] Matt. xv. 5. On the other hand, great stress laid on the non profanare nomen Dei. Schöttgen, p. 184.

[3] Besides our passage, the variously illustrative one in xxiii. 16 sqq. As early as the Old Test., asseverations by the life, the head, the health of Pharaoh, Gen. xlii. 15; 1 Sam. i. 26, xx. 3; 2 Sam. xi. 11; 2 Kings ii. 2. By the gazelles, Song of Sol. ii. 7. By the angels, Josephus, *B. J.* 2, 16, 4. Comp. Philo, above, I. p. 290. Asseverations and oaths to a frightful amount in the Jewish war, Josephus, *Vita*, 20, 42, 53. In the Talmud, per templum, p. Hierosolyma, altare, aguum, pastophoria, lignum, sacrificium (korban), patinas, &c. Sophistry: dicit R. Juda: qui dicit per Hier., nihil dicit, nisi intento animo voverit Hier. versus. Si quis alium adjurat p. cœlum aut terram, reus non est. So Maimonides, *In Shevuot*, c. 12: si quis jurat per cœlum, p. terram, p. solem, &c., sit licet animus jurantis sub his verbis per illum jurare, qui hæc creavit, hoc tamen non est juramentum. Aut si quis jurat per aliquem ex prophetis aut per aliquem librum e libris scripturæ, sit licet sensus jurantis per illum jurare, qui istum prophetam misit aut qui istum librum dedit, nihilominus hoc non est juramentum. Lightfoot, p. 293. Comp. Schöttgen, p. 40; Wetstein, pp. 305, 420.

King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou hast not power to make one hair white or black. But let your speech be—your Yea, a yea, your Nay, a nay, for what is more than these is from the wicked one!" Here he triumphantly shows how every higher thing to which the oath-swearing man appeals in order to induce others to rely on his words, ultimately derives its dignity from God, even when God is not named, since even the higher can exist only in Him.[1] In the legal prohibition of such false oaths, however, there lies for him, in a certain sense, also the prohibition of oaths in general. This logic appears incomprehensible, but it becomes intelligible as soon as we see to what kind of oaths he refers. It is true that Jesus says, "Swear not at all;" and many have concluded from this that he has prohibited *every* form of oath. But among the oaths which he immediately enumerates in detail, and which alone therefore he necessarily has in view, the old, legitimate and highest form of oath is not to be found, the oath which he himself did not evade when brought before the legal authority, the swearing by the living God. On the other hand, he mentions a number of asseverations in which frivolity was wont to indulge without scruple. His severity does not by any means condemn these formulæ as godless in themselves, but, on the contrary, lays stress upon their solemn reference to God and their consequently solemn character as oaths: he condemns the wickedness and perjury of using a multitude of oaths not intended to be binding.[2]

[1] Comp. Heb. vi. 13, 16. Throne, footstool, after Isaiah lxvi. 1. City of the great King, Ps. xlviii. 2; Is. lx. 14. Talmud: unam pennam corvi dealbare non possunt. Schöttgen, pp. 28, 40 sq.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 63. Also in Matt. xxiii. 16 sqq., Jesus shows the solemn characters of these formulæ as oaths. James v. 12 has also the same meaning. These analogous passages are corroborative; add to them: (1) The mention of *voluntary* oaths in contrast to those enjoined by God or legal oaths, Ex. xxii. 11. (2) The mention of the reason for not swearing, namely, the connection of the thing sworn by with God, from which logically follows, not the abolition of swearing, but only that of careless and trifling swearing. (3) The assertion that everything beyond a simple affirmative is from Satan, which could never have been said of the oath that appealed to God, and of the commandment of Moses.

From this it may be seen how far Jesus, in prohibiting perjury, prohibits every oath; it is the frivolous oath of the street or the market which is perjury, or which leads to it. In the same way it is intelligible that he derives directly from the devil and from his suggestion every addition to the simple affirmation, which ought to be a genuine, serious, veritable Yes—not simply a repetition, Yes, yes, as Matthew less correctly gives it. Jesus could not assume this attitude towards a conscientiously pious invoker of God as a witness, but only towards the unholy and reckless swearer.[1] Thus everything here is clear; and the opinion that Christianity is opposed to all oaths whatever, whether that opinion be held by hair-splitting expositors, or by morose sects, or by comparative historians who wish to stamp Jesus as a mere Essene, is simply a superficial interpretation.[2] Only thus can a meaning be given to the words of Jesus; only thus can his words be made to harmonize with his acts, and unity and connection be maintained between him and Moses and the Old Testament. In the false exposition, however, there lies a nucleus of truth. The command of Jesus, which follows the bare prohibition, insists upon plain and absolute truthfulness in spoken intercourse. The more general he makes this rule, the less necessary he finds it expressly to preserve to swearing its legal position, so much the more does he limit the province of swearing and deny its neces-

[1] The old form of Jesus' words on oaths (without diplasiasmus), James v. 12. Justin, *Ap.* 1, 16. Clem., *Hom.* 3, 55; 19, 2; comp. Semisch, *Denkwürd. Justins*, p. 375. A similar brief form, Maimonides *in Peah*, c. 5: datio et acceptio inter discipulos sapientum sit in veritate et fide, dicendo: est est, non non (hen hen, lo lo), Lightfoot, p. 293. From the evil one, masculine, not neuter, as always in Matthew, vi. 13, xiii. 19, 38. Thus also the Fathers, the Reformers, Fritzsche, Meyer; on the contrary, Luther, De Wette, Tholuck, Ewald.

[2] The above interpretation by Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, to Tholuck, Hilgenfeld, Ewald. Appeal is always made (the Fathers, and moderns down to Meyer, Ritschl; comp. Tholuck, Bleek) to the *not at all*. But the first thing to consider is the *idea* of swearing, then the context, and finally agreement with Matt. xxiii. 16. The Essenes objected to all oaths, see above, Vol. I. p. 378. Philo (more especially harmless formulæ, as above), see above, Vol. I. p. 290. Also Eccles. ix. 2: ὅρκους φοβούμενος. Even the Rabbis, *Tract. Demai*, c. 2, h. 3: ne nimius sit in jurando et ridendo. To this a gloss of R. Solomon's: ne multus sis in juramentis, nam in multum jurando impossibile est non profanare. Lightfoot, p. 293.

sity in the intercourse of the pious, though not in the intercourse of a mixed community.

From truthfulness in word, he passes to patient and compassionate action—the last two antitheses. "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth;" thus he sketches the Pharisaic teaching which he repudiates. This doctrine of retaliation is a genuinely Mosaic one to the very letter. The dealings of God with Israel consist in the main of acts of retaliation. Every little offence in the community is requited in the name of God; and he who injures another in property, body, or life, must give either to the injured or to the community, not merely something equivalent to, but something that will as nearly as possible make good, the injury done. It is literally to recompense "like with like."[1] But the Scribes, even the mild Hillel, had not only been ready to preach this severe principle and to act upon it in courts of justice, they had also—as they themselves show and as Jesus says—converted it into a maxim of daily, of universal, human intercourse; and they had forgotten all or the greater part of what the Old Testament said both of the mercifulness of God towards men, and of the mercifulness of men towards men, even towards enemies.[2] "But I command you not to resist evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also; and whosoever is minded to sue thee at the law and to take away thy under-garment, let him take thy mantle also; and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile as a courier, go

[1] Ex. xxi. 24 sqq. The Sadducees took this most literally; the Pharisees permitted compensation, satisfactio pecuniaria, Maimon. Their casuistry supplies long bills of costs—indemnification for boxing the ears, striking the cheeks, pulling out the hair, rending the ear, spitting at any one, taking away the under-garment, uncovering the head of a woman. In such cases, mulcta sec. dignitatem personæ læsæ. On the other hand, R. Akiba: etiam pauperrimi Israel. reputandi sunt ac si generosi essent, quia sunt filii Abrahæ. Lightfoot, p. 294.

[2] Jesus evidently refers (contrary to Meyer), in what follows, to general and social, and not merely judicial, maxims (ver. 40). By the Scribes every offence was consistently at once regarded as judicial. The rare occurrence of higher principles; yet comp. above, Vol. I. p. 337; and Hillel, *ib.* Vol. I. p. 351. And also the saying, "If thy neighbour call thee an ass, put the saddle on thy back at once," si prox. te vocat asinum, etiam sellam asini tibi impone. *Bav. k.* f. 92, 2. Schöttgen, p. 41.

with him two. Give to him that asks thee, and from whom that will borrow of thee, turn not thou away."[1] This sublime teaching of Jesus, only indistinctly anticipated by the Old Testament and by the best of the Scribes, erases the retaliation of injustice and of violence from the vocabulary of a pious life, and is at the same time an exceedingly acute and profound teaching. To a certain extent, retaliation is to remain, but as the requital of evil with good. To a certain extent, it is still to be a requital of like with like, of bad with bad; but the like, the bad, is not to fall upon the evil-doer, but rather upon the one to whom evil is done; the latter is to suffer, and to suffer again, even to suffer something worse, or at least to expose himself to something worse, perhaps to the worst possible. It is vain to oppose to the noble and profound words of Jesus the petty objections of those who contend that he demands too much, that he encourages violence, that he yields unresistingly to evil, that he betrays and destroys society.[2] It is true he is in earnest in demanding

[1] Four kinds of assault: (*a*) Striking the cheek and indeed maxilla dextra (pars potior, although the left is nearer the assailant). Comp. Luke xxii. 50; Lightfoot, p. 298. A slave would rather endure flagella, quam colaphos, Seneca, *De Const.* 4. Matt. xxvi. 67; John xviii. 22. The scoffs of Celsus, Origen, 7, 3. Difficulty of the Fathers with reference to the right of rulers to inflict punishment, Tholuck. (*b*) Under-garment, dispute not necessarily before a court of justice (comp. Luke vi. 29). Under-garment, that which is most essential, since the poor did not wear two. The Law had granted to the debtor the return of that which was less necessary as clothing, the over-garment, because it was his covering at night, Ex. xxii. 26. On this point, Ewald has introduced a new sixth antithesis: "Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt not steal, but rather give the mantle to the poor (Ex. *l. c.*). But I say unto you, Give to him that asks," &c. This is arbitrary; there is no relation between the members of the sentence, but an unmeaning contradiction. (*c*) Compulsory service. The expression from the Persian iggeret, letter (not from agar, Piel = mercede conducit, but from Pers. engariden = to write); hence, ἄγγαρος, letter-carrier, Herodotus, 8, 98. Even in the Talmud, angaria (opp. be-simcha, joyful, willing). Vulgate, angariare. Angaria est servitus politarchæ. Rulers and their officers might thus compel the services of men, beasts, and vehicles. Matt. xxvii. 32. Lightfoot, p. 295. Comp. Hillel, above, Vol. I. p. 352. A similar expression in Epict., *Diss.* 4, 1, 78, on the μὴ ἀντιτείνειν against the ἀγγαρεία στρατιώτου, which only leads to blows, and by which the ass is altogether ruined. Langen, *Letzte Tage J.*, p. 297. (*d*) Borrowing, especially on the Sabbath, when no business is transacted. Comp. Deut. xv. 7; Ecclus. iv. 5. Schöttgen, p. 42.

[2] Comp. above, p. 121, and Celsus, Origen, 7, 3. *Toled.* I., Schöttgen, p. 42. Similarly the Scribes, see above, p. 315, note 1.

—if not in the special figurative example, yet in real life—a repeated yielding and a repeated endurance of suffering. It is true his opinion is, that men should not only yield in little matters, but that even in great matters they should not hastily have recourse to litigation. But the tolerance which he wishes to teach and which he inculcates in the name of the purest morality itself, is no cowardly shrinking from bearing testimony against sin, but is itself such a testimony, and is a greater testimony than a merely verbal one such as he himself also bears.[1] And the effect at which he aims is not the encouragement of sin, but its discouragement; for he so far, and in this justly, reckons on the goodness of human nature as to expect that in view of these "good works" even the wicked will be compelled to praise the Father of such pious men.[2] If it be objected that this is but the impracticable idealism of personal piety, it must first be asked whether Jesus had not soberly and seriously in view an actual community based on these principles, such a community as he always really had in view; and it must next be asked—a question to which Jesus' followers have, in isolated cases, afforded a complete answer—whether the world be more firmly established by legal tribunals and prisons than by such a shame-begetting retaliation as the Master inculcates. And it must, moreover, be remembered that Jesus holds out to those who are really incorrigible the prospect of the judgment of God.

Finally, the last, the sixth thesis, to which the fifth, and chiefly the latter clauses of the fifth, prepare the way. For giving to those that ask, to borrowers, has already introduced the transition from a passive endurance to an actively benevolent behaviour towards our neighbours. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy," so says the morality of the Pharisees. This maxim, so mild in its beginning, so harsh in

[1] Comp. Matt. xii. 7, xxiii. 32. Then John xviii. 22 sq. (Matt. xxvi. 67). Paul, Acts xxiii. 2 sq..

[2] Matt. v. 16; 1 Peter iii. 1.

its close, is not to be found in the Old Testament, which, notwithstanding its fresh reminiscences of the conflicts of the immigration, never inculcates hate, not even against the Moabites, and least of all against all nations. But this maxim is a Pharisaic deduction from the Old Testament. From the beautiful precepts, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart, thou shalt not be angry with the children of thy people, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," the reverse commands were, with apparent justice, inferred, "Thou shalt be angry with the stranger, thou shalt hate thine enemies."[1] It is unquestionable that this maxim originally expressed the national ethics which a religiously isolated and politically down-trodden people like the Jews naturally adopted and developed into what the ancients called the hatred of the human race, and the further dogmatic elaboration of which was handed over to the Scribes, who were themselves also nationally jealous.[2] The only question is, Did the Scribes do nothing more, or did they, as falsifiers of all the moral conceptions of the Old Testament, in their spirit of anger and of vengeful retaliation, most immorally pass from narrow precepts to narrowest, from gross rendering to grossest, by permitting

[1] The first part, Levit. xix. 18; and the second part, the antithesis, is derived from the same passage, vv. 17, 18: *οὐ μισήσεις τὸν ἀδ. σου, οὐ μηνιεῖς τοῖς υἱοῦς τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ ἀγαπήσεις*, &c. Hatred against strangers is not here insisted upon, but it might be *deduced* herefrom. Against Moab, Ammon, &c., the most that is insisted upon is that no covenant be made with them, no favour shown them, their prosperity and salvation be not sought for ever, Deut. vii. 2, xxiii. 3 sqq.; but hatred is not commanded. Kindness towards Edom, the Egyptians, *ib.* xxiii. 7.

[2] Tacitus, *Hist.* 5, 5: adv. alios omnes hostile odium. See above, Vol. I. p. 299. The Romans (comp. the Sar Roma, above, p. 239, note), as the fourth monarchy, according to Daniel, hated and appointed to destruction, comp. above, Vol. I. pp. 320, 324. See also Ferd. Christ. Ewald, *Abodah Sarah, od. d. Götzendienst*, a tractate out of the Talmud, Nürnb., 1868, pp. 5 sqq. Shammai, Zadok, see above, Vol. I. pp. 261, 342. Talmud: proximus non ethnicus; cum dicit proximum, excludit ethnicos. Lightfoot, pp. 285, 344. Nationes mundi canibus assimilantur (midr. till.), *ib.* p. 31. Populi terrarum non vivunt, *ib.* p. 518. Nationes mundi erunt sicut conflagratio furni, *ib.* p. 611. *Midr. Teh.* f. 26, 4, &c.; noli gentilibus benevol. aut miseric. exhibere, Schöttgen, p. 43. No help in necessity, but death to the foe in war, Maimonides, in Lightfoot, p. 295 (prohibitum, eos a morte liberare). Assistance to no Gentile woman in childbirth, giving suck to no Gentile child, Ewald, p. 187, &c.

hatred, not only against the stranger, but also against the private enemy among their own people? In itself this would not be surprising; to a certain extent this maxim would be but the consequence of the inculcation of revenge; and Jesus has in appearance throughout understood the exposition as applying to private animosity. Though the passage is usually understood thus, because it appears to have such a meaning, because thus what is obscure becomes still more obscure, and what is clear still more clear, yet this explanation is incorrect.[1] The neighbour, in the Old Testament sense, is not the friend, but the compatriot; therefore the enemy must be simply the stranger. From the Old Testament could be drawn only the maxim inculcating hatred against the stranger. The Pharisaic spirit would have permitted hatred against the private enemy, but could not have demanded it as a religious duty; only hatred against the national enemy could have been thus demanded. "Thou shalt hate, thou art required to hate, thine enemy." Jesus himself, under the term enemies, understands in the first place persecutors, who, according to the then existing situation, would be distinctly marked off from the Jews as Gentiles. He does not, it is true, describe the enemies later simply as publicans and Gentiles; but he mentions the publicans and Gentiles, the loathed of the people, because he wishes to put to shame the narrow-mindedness of the people towards strangers by means of strangers and their associates, who indeed do not perform more than, but who do perform the same things as, the pious nation.

But the greatness of Jesus loses nothing, if Pharisaism loses a little of its erroneousness. When Jesus demands an exhibition

[1] Even Tholuck and Meyer represent the Pharisees as speaking thus also of private enemies. If there were a special reference to the godless, then this would be more probable, since such were placed on the level of Gentiles. *Abot. Nat.* 16: ama omnes et odio habe Epicuræos. *Taan.* f. 7, 2: licet impudentem odio prosequi. Schöttgen, pp. 43 sq. Lightfoot, pp. 344, 295. Ewald, pp. 79, 190. But the antithesis in the text is a purely national one, and there was no obligation to cherish hatred against a merely private enemy.

of love towards the foreign enemy, he demands it at the same time on behalf of the private enemy; nay, he demands it expressly on behalf of the latter. "But I say unto you, Love your enemies and pray for your persecutors, that ye may be sons of your Father in heaven; for He makes His sun to rise on evil men and on good, and sends rain on just and unjust."[1] He makes no distinction, therefore, between external and internal enemies; and even if by the terms evil and unjust he refers primarily to the Gentiles, yet neither here nor elsewhere does he refer to them alone. Before his ardent faith in the dignity of mankind, before his spirit of fervent affection, the limitations of love fall away, therefore consistently the distinctions between man and man, therefore by anticipation the distinctions between nations. But his deepest motive is not his love, nor the dignity of humanity, as he otherwise represents it. Here at the close comes in his deepest motive, which has given such a tension to all his moral demand for enduring and acting virtue. He draws his virtue from heaven; his whole morality, apparently so terrestrial, so human, so limited, so free from the services of worship, he draws from the service of God, from religion: the Father in heaven endures and gives gifts like a king; He tolerates the evil upon earth, both Gentiles and Jews; He gives sunshine and clouds to His sinners; and the ideal of the pious man is to be like Him, to become a son of the Father. Jesus draws his virtue, to a certain extent, also from the earth. "For if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans so? And if you are kind to your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the heathenish the same?" Certainly

[1] Comp. here the parallels in Seneca, *Benef.* 4, 26; 7, 31; see above, pp. 71 sq. By the Jews, *Mechilt.* f. 27, 1, on Ex. xv. 2: num vero homo Deum creatorem s. pulcrum facere potest? Similis esto illi. Quemadm. ille clemens est et misericors, sic tu quoque cl. et m. esto. Schöttgen, p. 25. Pluviæ ad justos et impios, *Taan.* f. 7, 1; Schöttgen, p. 47. Also *Shabb.* f. 88, 2: contumelia adfici, neminem vero adficere, audire ignominiam neque rependere. *Siphr.* f. 174, 1: qui gaudet adversitate prox. s., ille est impius perfectus. *Sanh.* f. 48, 2: patere tibi ab aliis maledici, noli vero aliis maledicere. *Soh. Gen.* f. 67: præceptum est homini, ut oret pro impiis. Schöttgen, pp. 44 sq.

this learning from the earth is only a kind of comparison. It is, as Seneca says, no virtue to be as good as or better than the worst.[1] It is only a negative picture, a shadow, a distortion, in comparison with the ideals, the pattern pictures, which shine from heaven, and are immediately reflected back from the human soul as presentiments of a higher destiny. Love in return for love—what is the greatest love, what is the greatest thing worth, what can it effect, what is its power, in the sight of God, as a recompense to God? Equality with publicans and Gentiles, what a miserable emulation![2] Thus he comes back to God: likeness to God is to be the object of emulation, nay, the aimed-at but unattainable goal! "Therefore be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect."[3] No one has seriously placed thus high the aims of man; hence no one has thus loftily exhibited the virtue of man. We know heathenism and its beautiful sayings, which, even though heathenism, like Jesus, took the divine as its pattern, could not be realized, because it possessed no life-blood seeking in its perpetual flow to force itself into, or in its circulation to find a pause, in God.[4] But the old covenant also, and not merely Pharisaism, hides its face with shame.[5] What that old covenant dimly saw, longed for, lost from sight and again sought, viz., the pattern man, him Jesus has exhibited. Humanity has taken the gift, the discovery of which had been an

[1] *Epist.* 79: nec enim bonitas est, pessimis esse meliorem.

[2] Publicans, see above, p. 266.

[3] By the Talmudists, Israel is often called populus perfectus, perf. in operibus, qui non peccavit in Deum. Even the sentence, *Soh. Lev.* f. 2: quando Isr. perf. sunt in operib., etiam nomen Dei sanctum perfectius redditur. Schöttgen, pp. 48 sq.

[4] See above, pp. 117 sq.

[5] It is true that the Old Test. teaches the saving of the wandering or fallen ox of the enemy, Ex. xxiii. 4 sq. (thus differing from the later Judaism, see above, p. 318, note 2); the doing no harm to the oppressor, Ps. vii. 5; the taking no joy in harm, the wishing no evil, Prov. xxiv. 17; Job xxxi. 29 sq.; the giving refreshment to the hungry and thirsty enemy, Prov. xxv. 21. But how often is vengeance invoked, Ps. vii. 6; the fall of the enemy triumphed over, Ps. liv. 7; nay, in the very finest passages, resignation is inculcated in order that God may so much the more avenge, Ps. vii. 7; Prov. xxiv. 18. Comp. also the coals of fire, *ib.* xxv. 21. Samuel the Little, see above, Vol. I. p. 338.

endless problem; and however much it may sigh over the ideal of Jesus, so long as the earth stands must it preserve that ideal, since it cannot help loving it, willingly or unwillingly.

At this resting-point of the criticism and revision of the ancient moral teaching, there remains yet a question which requires an answer. Here and there, it may be, in opposition to the moral teaching of the time, with its lack of moral delicacy of feeling and with its coarseness of juridical, religious, and national conception, Jesus has turned back to the moral, humane, and ideally rich spirit of the Old Testament. When all is considered, however, has he not, in his attack upon what was Pharisaical—and this attack was the sharp sword, though not the heart, of his whole ministry—quite as much struck at, condemned, and destroyed one half of the Old Testament? For, to speak impartially, is not the Old Testament half Jesus-like, moral, spiritual, humane, and half Pharisaical, ceremonial, dealing in statutes, retaliatory, vengeful, and narrow-minded? And is not its former and enduring characteristic taken hold of and lifted into prominence by Jesus, and its latter and temporary characteristic perpetuated, in exact formulæ, as it were, by Pharisaism, as a system of ordinances? Or, not to go quite so far, is it not unquestionable that the expounder of the spirit at least far oversteps the letter of the Old Testament, that letter the perpetuation of which, according to the introduction of the Sermon on the Mount, he insisted upon with a strong asseveration? This difficulty, which will repeat itself in ever new forms, is not to be met—as many moderns, with singular arbitrariness, attempt to meet it—by omitting the inconvenient passage about the perpetuity of the letter, or by translating the eternal perpetuity into a brief one, lasting only until the advent of the imminent kingdom of heaven.[1] It is to be met by first calmly

[1] Matt. v. 18, 19, is regarded as a more or less later Jewish-Christian (or anti-Pauline) interpolation, by Röth, Gfrörer, Baur, Hase, Hilg., Schenkel, Strauss, Weizs., Holtzm., Pfleid.; comp. *Geschichtl. Chr.* p. 48. Tholuck. Schenkel now makes a

reviewing the attitude of Jesus towards the Law, and by then considering how far this piety of the letter, with or without any self-deception, is compatible with that attitude. Nothing is more certain than that the Law is upheld by Jesus from first to last.[1] From the Pharisaic human expositions and additions, he can and will from day to day more and more widely depart; but the Law itself, the ordinance of the great God, must rise from its fall, more vigorous, more powerful, more glorious than it was before. In Jerusalem, there is still only the old answer to the inquiry after the way to life: "Keep the commandments."[2] This fact is so overwhelmingly opposed to the obscurations of modern science, that the fourth Gospel with its counter testimony may be put aside, and the apparent divergences in the older Gospels —of which more have been found than exist—may be left to be treated in their appropriate places.[3] To Jesus the authority of

first antithesis out of Matt. v. 18–20, *Bibel-Lexikon*, III. p. 282. Strauss thinks (p. 212) vv. 18, 19, might be conveniently cut out, and that the connection would then be good. But is the attack on the Pharisees to be joined on to the annulling or fulfilling in verse 17, and not rather—instead of the utter vagueness of such a connection—to the teaching and doing of the little and the great, in which the Pharisees were notoriously lacking (xxiii. 3, 23, v. 21 sqq.), that is, on vv. 18, 19? These utterances are quite in harmony with the conservative Jewish standpoint of Jesus, and are also in Luke xvi. 17 attested by the Pauline writer almost against his will. A Jewish-Christian attack upon Paul (Röth, Gfrörer, Hilg.) is here not to be thought of, because the fanatical Jewish Christians accused Paul, and with justice, of overthrowing not only the little, but the *whole* Law (Acts xxi. 28). The opinion that the passage assumes the imminent end of the Law through the advent of the kingdom of heaven, is contrary to all possibility (Chrys., Paulus, Schleiermacher, Neander, Tholuck, Planck, Ritschl, Ewald, Weizsäcker). I gladly give prominence to the acute treatise by Karl Planck, *Prinzip des Ebionit.* in the *Theol. Jahrb.* 1843; but how could he have thought that the most solemn declaration in favour of the Law, and its determining influence upon the future and abiding destiny of men, should be closely accompanied by the declaration of its end, of its temporary character!

[1] *Geschichtl. Chr.* pp. 47 sqq. The Ebionite sentence of Jesus against sacrifice is spurious. See above, Vol. I. p. 44.

[2] Matt. xix. 16, xxii. 36, xxiii. 1.

[3] Matt. xi. 13 (Schl.), xv. 1 sqq., xix. 7, xxvi. 28, 61. Modern critics believe mostly on a more or less conscious going beyond the Law on the part of Jesus: Schleiermacher (after John!), Hase, Neander, Schenkel, Strauss, Renan, Baur, Ewald, Holtzmann, Weizs., Pressensé. Even Bleek (I. pp. 251 sqq.), relying on John, and on the second limitation of the perpetuity of the Law in Matt. v. 18. Reimarus was more correct; and recently Grätz, Albaric.

the Law was unshakable, because it rested on two foundations: in the first place, he did not doubt that it was the manuscript of God; and in the next place, he found in it two ruling principles, which, to his mind, conferred upon it eternal nobility.[1] The *fear* of God and the love of one's neighbour, Hillel had said, and this was also afterwards said by Paul, the pupil of the Pharisees; but Jesus found the *love* of God and of one's neighbour to be at once the religious and the moral pearl of the Law.[2] Nay, he fell back upon an ultimate, highest, supreme law in the Law; to him the Law was the good, the pure, the holy, the perfect absolutely, a copy of the Good and the Perfect One in the heavens, and at the same time an expression of the longing of human nature for purity and perfection.[3]

But this reverence for the Law certainly did not exclude a criticism of it. The penetration to the principle of the Law already shows an elevation of something above the infinite mass of commands which in the Old Testament are all invested with the same authority. In the commands of the Old Testament, the love of God and of one's neighbour is not represented as the whole Law, but as one thing among many.[4] As soon as any one thing is elevated above another, there is a separation and a preference; one command lies nearer to the principles, another further off. From the time of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus distinguishes between great, small and smallest, difficult and easy commandments.[5] He is also fond of placing the Law and the Prophets side by side; the Law represents great and little, the Prophets, preponderantly, great, *i. e.* moral, commandments.[6] Thus in compassion, reconciliation, purity of heart, he sees great commands; in the paying to the temple tithes of the pro-

[1] Matt. xv. 6, xix. 4, xxii. 37—40.

[2] Matt. xxii. 37. Hillel, Philo, see above, Vol. I. pp. 337 sq. Also, non profanare nomen Dei (idololatria), Schöttgen, pp. 184, 189.

[3] Matt. v. 48, xv. 18, xix. 17.

[4] Deut. vi. 5; Levit. xix. 18.

[5] Matt. v. 18, 19, xxiii. 23. Another reason for this distinction by the Scribes, see above, Vol. I. p. 335. More in detail on Matt. xxii. 36, xxiii. 23.

[6] Matt. v. 17, vii. 12, ix. 13, xi. 12 sq.

duce of the field, and even in sacrifices—which the Scribes, and indeed the nation, regarded as the greatest command—he sees little commands; and he always, even in the Sermon on the Mount, emphatically inculcates merely the great commands, teaching the little commands only incidentally and as accompaniments to the former.[1] With these distinctions is undeniably introduced the beginning of the dissolution of the compact faith in the Law. But Jesus guards against a diminution of faith in his part of the Law. Making a sharper distinction between the heterogeneous parts than did the prophets, he is at the same time more careful than any of them to connect those parts together. He demands that both the great and the little be observed; he does not exclude from the kingdom of heaven the man who neglects the little, but he makes him the least in that kingdom, in which the fulfiller of the whole Law is great.[2] He does this, not out of mere humble submissiveness, but also—in the same way as, and yet differently from, the Pharisees on the one hand, and Philo on the other—because he knows that the least command "hangs" on great principles, is supported by and filled with them.[3] On account of this connection, the least is important and deserving of respect—nay, to him, as to Philo and the Scribes, it contains "mountains of doctrine."[4] This at once throws a light on the expositions in the Sermon on the Mount, which, through the reference to the Pharisees, are extended to the Law. "Thou shalt not kill," is, in the mind of Jesus, certainly not a little command; but it is, in its verbal expression, much smaller than its real meaning, which Jesus discovers and upholds with the conviction that he is upholding what the Law itself has asserted. Here he expounds like Philo and with the same faith; only Philo expounds allegorically, and Jesus in a soberly moral sense; Philo unhistorically, and

[1] Matt. v. 23, ix. 13, xii. 7 (Hosea vi. 6), xxiii. 23.

[2] Matt. v. 18, 19, xxiii. 23. [3] Matt. xxii. 40.

[4] See above, Vol. I. pp. 283 sq., 331 sq. Comp. the par. Matt. xxii. 29 sqq.

Jesus always in harmony with the higher spirit of the Old Testament.

From time to time, however, there arose a dispute as to the relative merits of the commands, and it was not always easy to put in practice Jesus' precept, "First the great, and then the little command."[1] The law of the Sabbath forbade work; the moral law allowed the doing what was necessary to the maintenance of life, and commanded the saving of one's neighbour. Here Jesus could settle the difficulty by deciding that the law of the Sabbath must be limited by the moral law.[2] But the oldest law asserted the indissolubility of the marriage bond, while the Mosaic ordinance permitted divorce. Here Jesus decided for the oldest law of the mouth of God and of the most rigorous morality; and he mitigated the contradiction between that and the Mosaic ordinance by the assumption—the consequences of which he overlooked—that Moses had accommodated his ordinance to the rudeness of his contemporaries.[3]

Such conflicts with the Law are, however, exceedingly few. The affirmative attitude is throughout the predominating one; and if Jesus was able to identify himself with the great fundamental ideas of the Law, and to obtain large views even from its petty details, it may be asked, in conclusion, what was to prevent him from predicating an endless perpetuity to the Law and to every iota contained in it? This passage, therefore, was not interpolated by the Jewish Christians; and it may with almost less probability be ascribed to timidity or reticence, to fictitious fervour or to short-sighted precipitancy, on the part of Jesus. The utmost that can be admitted is, that Jesus did not, could not, thus lay stress on the iota at the close of his ministry, any more than he could on the sacrifices of Moses or the fasting of the Pharisees.[4] The conservative teaching of Jesus, dictated

[1] Matt. xxiii. 23.

[2] Matt. xii. 1—12.

[3] Matt. xix. 3. See above, p. 310, note 2.

[4] Neither Matt. v. 18, nor vi. 1 (comp., on the contrary, ix. 15), nor v. 23 (comp., on the contrary, ix. 13, xii. 7), is repeated.

by a firm, sincere, and elevated conviction, is not shut out from the recognition of posterity, since his well-considered and truthful combination of criticism and piety towards the Law, which could discover defects, and could still better remedy them, was untenable beyond the limits of his personal life, during which he lovingly laboured to reconcile the awakening antitheses. For though he correctly and affectingly exhibited the connection between the little and the great in the Law, the consciousness of the great duties in contrast with the diminishingly small and by himself in his life often neglected ones, was nevertheless aroused; the chasm between the small and the great was irrevocably opened, and it was closed again neither by means of loose connections nor by ingenious interweaving of the great into the little, where the contradiction of the matter and the form would be soon perceived.[1] Even if Paul had not appeared, the disciples of Jesus, if they did not stand still in the midst of universal progress—nay, if they did not fall back from the elevation of Jesus, must have observed not only that the degradation of what was regarded as great to the position of the small offended Judaism as much as the entire abrogation of the Law, but also that Christianity itself, with the best intention of observing what was great and not neglecting what was little, must have simply regarded the troublesome minutiæ of the Law, not less than the industrious elaboration of those minutiæ by the Pharisees, as a drag upon the great, and in truth as the foe of what was good. Though the circle of the Apostles did not see this, or at least did not see it clearly, there remains for our recognition the indisputable facts that Jesus in his innermost genius overstepped the limits of Judaism, that

[1] No instance of neglect of the Law on the part of Jesus can, it is true, be formally established. But his self-dispensations from the severe rule of the Sabbath, his depreciation of the value of sacrifice, his indifference towards the Pharisaic regulations as to ceremonial purity (comp. his touching the leper and the woman with the issue of blood), point in that direction; and there is at least nothing actually said of a sacrifice offered by Jesus, or of a sacrificial visit to a feast, or of the removal of ceremonial impurity, or even of a dread of such impurity.

Paul fully developed the spirit of the teaching of Jesus, and that Paul and John, when they depicted Jesus as the breaker of the Law, described less the actual character of his life than his figure as it stands in the history of the world.[1]

The Scribes were still more interpreters of the religious ritual of the Law than they were moral lawgivers. For the sake of completeness, it will be well to imitate the compiler of the Sermon on the Mount, and to follow up the criticism of the theory of duty to one's neighbour, by Jesus' condemnatory criticism of the religious services of the Pharisees. It is true that, notwithstanding many points of connection, it is almost more than probable that Jesus did not utter these three fresh antitheses at the same time as the six previous ones. The opponents bear another name; instead of thesis and antithesis, there is simply a vigorous antagonism, overthrowing and then building up; instead of doctrine, practice; instead of attack upon doctrine, the rejection of practice; instead of incisive, quietly acute, and comprehensive brevity, we have wealth of detail on a limited canvas, an artificial ostentation of refrain, a more agitated and excited mood, and an inexhaustible play of annihilating irony.[2] Yet this attack plainly enough falls in the early period of Jesus' ministry, and also belongs to the addresses to the disciples. It gives the disciples definite instruction concerning the elements of piety, as was done in the preceding sermon concerning the elements of morality; and notwithstanding the stronger character of the antagonism, it still refrains from that recklessness and universality of attack upon things and

[1] The first Apostles were not absolutely faithful to the Law, comp. only Peter, Gal. ii. 12; and also the transgressors of the Law, even James, Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 9, 1; but it was no necessary consequence, Gal. ii. 14. On John, see above, Vol. I. pp. 173 sqq.; and *Geschichtl. Chr.* p. 14.

[2] Similar and apparent connection, particularly in the doctrine of reward, Matt. vi. 1 sqq., comp. with v. 12, but also vi. 19 sq. The toleration of alms and fasting is connected with that of sacrifice. The righteousness, however, in vi. 1 is quite different from that in v. 20. I am surprised that the independence of vi. 1 sqq. was not earlier recognized.

persons which he later exhibited before the disciples and even before the people. In this address he is less reticent than in the previous one—in which he essentially confined his remarks to things, and as good as entirely avoided personalities—for he here depicts the "hypocrites" with all the warmth of strong displeasure, and by the use of this epithet recalls to our minds the later unsparing addresses. Hence it is to be concluded, with strong certainty, that this address also was delivered to only the circle of intimate disciples, and not to the popular crowds, to whom he neither did nor could give such commands until later. And yet it cannot be overlooked how, even before such a circumscribed audience, he guards himself against directly designating the pious men Pharisees, or charging the party as a whole with the faults which were found so fully developed in individual members or adherents of it, in those who had long been decried as "painted," though indeed at the same time in the most cultivated and most prominent champions of the party.[1] Especially convincing with reference to the early date of this address is the conservatism he exhibits towards pious usages which, or some of which at least, he a little later entirely repudiated.

As has been already intimated, Jesus, when remarking upon his opponents' rules of piety, their prescriptions for religious services, passes over the offering of sacrifice and the worship in the temple—from which Galilee was far away—and selects only the most popular daily observances; and these observances he criticizes only in their practice, without inquiring into or calling in question their conformity to Scripture or their value. A close examination shows that the somewhat striking unanimity with his predecessors upon a number of external pious practices —whose scriptural basis is in truth as slight, as doubtful, as their higher value before God and before the judgment of enlightened morality—is, however, not great. In the first place, he protests against the way in which these principles are acted upon by the "hypocrites;" then he finds no place at all for at least one im-

[1] Hypocrites, see above, Vol. I. p. 344.

portant daily usage of the Pharisees, purification; and finally he gives a qualified assent to three usages—in other addresses, however, to only two, and in reality he recognizes the necessary character of only one.[1] We perceive here, more vividly than elsewhere, how this new view of the world was slowly—and if slowly, not so on account of personal timidity or of deference to Jewish disciples—but surely evolved from the bosom of the old in a truly historical manner. The traditional pious practices were to continue, but they were to be observed in a fresh spirit. But when a fresh spirit takes possession of old forms, it shatters the confined and unsuitable tenement, and builds for itself a new house.[2]

That which Jesus emphatically and in repeatedly varied expressions finds fault with in the three customary pious practices of the Pharisees, and particularly of the hypocrites among the pious of that time, is the acting to be seen of men, the ostentation, the aiming at producing a sensation among the people, who were expected to look upon, admire, and, if possible, to revere their saints. In his remarks on this characteristic, fidelity and humour go hand in hand. These leaders of the people never received such a well-aimed, caustic, satirical rebuke. A second characteristic of this piety is less emphatically, but more significantly, dwelt upon. The piety which makes itself conspicuous to men has, however, its ultimate object in God, as the one towards whom it is intrinsically directed; certainly here there is implied the opinion, which like a curse accompanies all the Pharisaic works of the Law and all the offshoots of the Law—the opinion that the God-pleasing features in piety are ceremonial perfection, attention to petty details, and expenditure of time. On such a supposition, an ostentatious service of God harmonizes excellently well with a boastful service of men. This tendency of

[1] Slighter scriptural basis for fasting, but also for the mechanical observances of prayer and alms.

[2] Volkmar (p. 188) sees in these rules merely the Jewish-Christian practices after the destruction of Jerusalem!

the piety of his opponents Jesus brings into notice, at least in the case of prayer. By referring to the mechanical employment of many words by the Gentiles in their prayers, he is evidently opposing a tendency which exists not only among the Gentiles, but also in Israel, and which can be shown to flourish, nay, which he says does flourish, among the Scribes. In contrast with all this, his fundamental requirement in religious practices is the same as that of the best of the Scribes, namely, retirement from men and stillness before God; that is, the complete and pure giving up of the soul to Him to whom the worship is addressed. Accordingly he insists upon single-mindedness and brevity; for it is not a question of length of time and multitude of words, but simply of the utterance of the heart, of the disposition, which longs for communion with God, who needs long and eloquent addresses as little as He needs to be informed of human affairs.[1] Only for such pure and sincere conduct is there reward in heaven, whilst ostentation receives at once its reward from men. By reward, Jesus here understands, using the Jewish mode of expression but attaching to it his own meaning, that recompense from God which confers the appropriate and promised blessing upon the righteous human action, although that action, honouring the perfect Father, is not performed for the sake of payment, and God does not strike a bargain with the worshipper.[2]

The first of the three attacks of Jesus upon the pious usages of the time is directed against almsgiving, which was characteristically the favourite "work of righteousness" of that as degene-

[1] The Rabbis again and again insist upon stillness and retirement, choshech, seter (gadol ha-oseh zedakah beseter), in contradistinction to παρρησία; study of the Law in angulo vel conclavi, precari voce submissa, verbis paucis. Lightfoot, pp. 296 sqq. Præstat non dedisse, quam sic (palam) dedisse. *R. Jannai Bab. Chag.* f. 5, 1, *ib.* p. 297. Schöttgen, pp. 56 sqq.

[2] Merces impiis datur in hoc mundo. Merces legis alia nulla est, præterquam mundus futurus. Mercedem meam accepi in hoc mundo. Nulla mihi merces ultra in æternum exspectanda. Schöttgen, pp. 53 sqq.

rate as pretentious age.[1] He cannot here intend to denounce what the humane spirit of the Old Testament had long before taught, nor to charge the Scribes with not having in this respect touched the Law with their fingers. The Scribes have, in beautiful sayings, commended the wretchedness of the poor, especially of the poor of Israel, to the people, and have offered their own contributions to relieve it.[2] But he censures the abuse of almsgiving. He does not here expressly mention self-righteousness, the conceit of merit on account of human and indeed merely external acts; to point to the canker of this practice, to human ambition, suffices to exhibit its worthlessness in all respects. The hypocrites who perform their kind works to the sound of the trumpet in the synagogues, in the streets, in order to be seen and to be glorified of men—they already have their reward.[3] "But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine almsdeed may be in secret; and thy Father who seeth in secret, *He* shall requite thee." One hand is to conceal it from the other, the hand stretched out to give, from that which is looking on. In this fine and pregnant sentence he says much more than in his previous utterance: the good deed must be hidden not only from men, but from the doer himself. The deed as a deed must be purely performed without the prying

[1] Dan. iv. 24 [A.V. verse 27] (zidkah = compassion towards the poor). Tobit ii. 14 (comp. xiv. 11; 2 Cor. ix. 9; Acts x. 4): *ποῦ εἰσιν αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου καὶ αἱ δικαιοσύναι σου.* This zidkah also in Talmud, Bux. 1891; Lightfoot, 296.

[2] See above, Vol. I. p. 337. Lightfoot, p. 296.

[3] Collections in alms-boxes were made in the synagogues, as at Jerusalem (also in the form of the shopharot, Lightfoot, *l.c.* Schöttgen, pp. 51 sq.). The streets, not the approaches to the synagogues (against Schöttgen). Sounding the trumpet, buccinari (buccinator, Cicero, *Div.* 16, 21; *οὐχ ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι μόνοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κήρυκι μοιχεύεται,* Achilles Tatius [5th cen. B.C.], 8, 10), a somewhat similar figure. A trumpeter going before the almsgiver (somewhat as beggars blow a trumpet in the East in the present day), is as little to be thought of as a derivation of the figure from the shopharot of the temple and the synagogue. Calvin and others have thought of the former, Schöttgen (p. 52) of the latter. Matt. vi. 2, 5, 16, xxiii. 5. Comp. *Bava bathr.* f. 10, 2: omnis eleem. et miseric., quam ethnici faciunt, peccatum est illis, quandoquidem illi non faciunt, nisi ut per ea gloriam consequi velint. Schöttgen, p. 51. See also preceding page, n. 2.

observation of the doer himself, so that no remembrance of the deed may remain except with God, no gratification may be experienced except on the part of God, and that no self-satisfaction, self-laudation, self-righteousness, may follow the action.[1] He speaks in exactly the same manner of the second practice, prayer. They are not to pray as the hypocrites, who love to pray standing in the synagogues and at the corners of the streets, in order to be seen of men. Such persons already have their reward. But they are to go into the chamber, and with the door fastened pray to the Father who is and who sees in secret.[2] Finally, he comes to fasting. "When ye fast, do not look morose, as the hypocrites look; for they mask their faces that their fasting may be unmasked before men. Verily, I say unto you, they have their reward at once."[3] Such abstinences, painful to the natural man, prescribed in the Old Testament as obligatory only on the great day of atonement, but after the exile very commonly practised from a real or pretended spirit of servile humility, were, as may be easily conceived, the show-performances of the Pharisees. This renunciation of the flesh, of the needs of the body, this pure, heroic self-surrender to God, this humiliation for one's own sins and the sins of others, for the sins of the whole nation, was the most brilliant evidence of sanctity. The blacker and sootier with dust and ashes, the holier; indeed, also, the blacker the more vain. Jesus, like Isaiah in earlier times, saw this promenading vanity too often. And now he does not wish to disturb an old and pious usage, though he does not command it. But he wishes to reform it. "But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head and wash thy face, that thou do not appear to

[1] *Bava bathr.* f. 10, 1: quænam est illa eleem., quæ liberat a morte secunda? Illa, quum quis dat et nescit cui det. Schöttgen, p. 55.

[2] Always the standing attitude at prayer, Lightfoot, p. 298: stare nihil aliud quam orare. Luke xviii. 11.

[3] Comp. Levit. xvi. 29; 2 Sam. xv. 30; Esther vi. 12; 1 Macc. iii. 47. *Taan.* 2: in publ. jejuniis accipit unusquisque cineres et imponit capiti suo. *Juch.* f. 59: nigra fuit facies ejus præ jejuniis. Lightfoot, p. 303. Isaiah lviii. 5, bowing down the head as a bulrush.

men as one who fasts, but to thy Father in secret."[1] He requires the appearance and demeanour appropriate to a festival. Here, in a noteworthy manner, he says two things. Only the fasting which does not exhibit itself, which so little appears to men as to mislead them, as to seem the very opposite of itself, a pleasant, joyous life bordering on worldly frivolity—only such a fasting is a service rendered to God. This service to God, moreover, can consistently clothe itself only in forms of gladness, for it is intrinsically no service of sorrow, but a service of joy. How completely does Jesus here break through the old conception, which insisted upon servility, fear, expiation, suffering! The heaven of Jesus is not gloomy: it is bright and clear; it is the heaven of the Father who is in the heavens. Hence fasting is no deprecation; it is an exaltation to the divine superiority to want, to contempt of what is earthly, since man has the One, the Father.[2]

Thus were the Pharisaic pious ordinances not merely inwardly purified and placed on the basis of a pious disposition, but the practices themselves became fresh both in aim and in execution. At least, the fasting of Jesus was in form and matter altogether different from that taught by the Scribes. Since this was the case, it was impossible for Jesus to concern himself with the perpetuation of that pious exercise as such. It was not divinely commanded; as usually practised, it was indefensible; even in a reformed shape, it was superfluous, in as far as it was merely an isolated, and therefore limited, arbitrary sign of what the whole life was and should be. It is not surprising, therefore, that Jesus never practised the fasting which he tolerated in his disciples; and that later, in contrast with the disciples of the Pharisees and of John, he unreservedly repudiated it as an obsolete clothing of an obsolete spirit, which henceforth had no religious application

[1] Example of a Rabbi who weeps at home, but on going out washes, anoints himself, eats, drinks. Schöttgen, p. 66.

[2] The principle of joy which altogether forbids fasting, Matt. ix. 15. Here fasting is a sorrowing (*πενθεῖν*), comp. Hebr. innah naphsho (see, to humble the soul, *ταπεινοῦν ψυχήν*).

at all, but simply a human and voluntary one in circumstances of sorrow.[1] But what applied to one pious practice applied more or less to the others. Almsgiving was a usage in the circle of Jesus, but so little stress was laid upon it, that Jesus, when anointed, rejected in ever-memorable words the rigid Pharisaical principle.[2] Prayer was upheld in the most explicit way; but the mechanical estimate of it by length and quantity, by fixed times and hours, by formulæ and trivialities of posture, eked out with the assistance of phylacteries—all this clumsy machinery of the Pharisees was utterly condemned. Thus Jesus' antagonistic criticism of the pious practices of the age really penetrated deeper than it appeared to be; it rejected not merely the defective sentiment—it rejected in fact the practice and the spirit of the practice. Sweeping away the spirit of works, the spirit of pride, the spirit of servility, the spirit of mourning, it left no commandment standing, but only liberty and toleration. It transformed or abolished the practice by prominently opposing to the official mechanical routine more urgent performances for God and man, the complete ethics of the duties of the heart and life; while against the non-observance of the practice it aimed no threat of exclusion from the kingdom of heaven.

C.—The Private Life of Jesus.

Perhaps, apart from the addresses to the people and to his followers, the most important school for Jesus' disciples was their participation in his private life—in his every-day life we would say. Yet it was not exactly in the simplicity of his private life, where his demeanour was familiarly attractive and inviting, that his imposing greatness would shine forth most overwhelmingly. But he himself, his own personality, was always much greater than anything he said or did, and his every act rose out of his personality as nothing more than an

[1] Matt. ix. 15. [2] Matt. xxvi. 8—11.

imperfect expression of his inner world. Herein we find the force of his words, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear."[1] A glance at the silent, resting, praying Jesus was a rich acquisition; an occasional unconstrained utterance was a treasure, a pearl, and yielded new light and new love. In a word, the whole tone and spirit of Jesus' manner of life formed a great course of instruction which taught without doctrine, which in particular put a speedy end to the phantom of Pharisaical saintliness, to the legal dead mechanism, popular and influential as that legal mechanism might be. At the same time, by the force of example, by making the people familiar with the new idea, it brought to pass the beginning of a new sound, natural religious life.[2]

As the Sermon on the Mount had already foreshadowed, in the presence of Jesus there were no gloomy fastings, as among the Pharisees, Essenes, and the followers of John, no scrupulous washing and purifying of the hands, vessels, and implements, in order to avoid religious defilement; there were, moreover, no severe, repeated, systematic prayer-performances, which were missed not only by the Pharisees and by those who were still disciples of John, but even by several who had come over from among such, and now stood among the disciples of Jesus.[3]

Certainly, Jesus placed before his disciples a model prayer, so terse and brief, and at the same time so rich, so glorious in praise and petition, in deprecation and vow, that Christendom, despairing of finding a better than the best, as Jesus at the moment found it, daily prays in his formula, not only out of piety, not only—as, indeed, many persons do—out of superstition, but out of necessity, and as the outpouring of the deepest thoughts and feelings. And because of its character, we must, at this part of our history, apply ourselves to a closer examination of the Lord's

[1] Matt. xiii. 16.

[2] Matt. ix. 14, xii. 1, xv. 1.

[3] Previous note. Comp. Luke v. 33, xi. 1; Mark vii. 3.

Prayer.[1] Modern science began by attacking this prayer, some critics deriving it altogether from Jewish or Persian formulæ, some denying any connection between its several parts; while Bruno Bauer, with his logical theory of Mark, regarded it as an evidence of the superiority of the least of the Evangelists that he knows nothing of "the whole affair."[2] These, however, were mistakes; and if it must be admitted, with Wetstein, that not only the address to God, together with the first two petitions, but pretty well all in detail, re-appears here and there in Jewish Talmudic prayers which, though later, are however not altogether dependent upon Jesus; yet the union of truly biblical simplicity with non-originality of details is a merit, and the perfection of the composition as a whole, with its blending of solidity and breadth, childlikeness and wisdom, vigour and humility, has not been reached by the Jews.[3] The matter, certainly, is in part questionable, and in part demonstrably spurious. The concluding doxology was added by the Church. Further, Luke has a shorter form, in which one petition is altogether, and another as well as the opening address itself are half, wanting. The construction of the first petition varies; and it is possible that the divergent reading of Marcion originally stood also in Luke.[4]

[1] Matt. vi. 7—15; Luke xi. 1—4. The literature, in Tholuck, *Bergrede;* Bleek, I. p. 298. The latest, A. H. H. Kamphausen, *Das Gebet des Herrn erklärt*, 1866; J. Hanne, *D. Gebet d. H.*, in *Jahrb. deutsch. Theol.* 1866, pp. 507 sqq.

[2] The former, Wetstein, p. 323 (tota h. oratio ex formulis Hebræorum apte concinnata), in a somewhat different manner (see below) Augusti and Möller; the latter, Herder, Richter, Rhode, Seyffarth (see Tholuck). Against the latter, Gebser (1824). No connection: J. C. F. Schulz, and especially Seb. Möller, *Neue Ans. schwier. Stellen*, 1819; the latter advances the hypothesis that the Lord's Prayer gives, in its separate petitions, only the beginnings of Jewish prayers to which Jesus provisionally referred the disciples, an opinion most probably based on the prayer Kaddish, and which Augusti (*Denkw.* IV. p. 132) adopted. Bruno Bauer, *Kr. d. ev. G.* I. p. 360.

[3] De Wette, Tholuck, and even Bleek, wish to limit the resemblance to Jewish prayers to the opening address and the first two petitions; but this (see below) is arbitrary, and Bleek himself shows a more correct principle (I. p. 390). Even Wetstein: tam apte, ut omnia contineat, &c.

[4] See, here, Tischendorf's 8th critical edition. Formerly the difference between Luke and Matthew was small, even in Lachmann's edition, since Luke was harmonized with Matthew; after Griesbach, Tischendorf has established the differences. These

But in each case, Matthew is decidedly superior to Luke; and up to the present time few have been induced by the brevity of Luke's version to prefer that.[1]

are specially: (1) In Luke the address is only, Father! (2) Third petition wanting (Matt. vi. 10 fin.). (3) Second half of the sixth petition wanting (Matt. vi. 13). Marcion plainly reads (Tertullian, *C. Marc.* 4, 26): ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς (thus also Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Dom.* 3, Max. Conf. I. p. 350). Tert. *l. c.*: a quo spiritum s. postulem? (according to Marcion's text). The presence of this reading in Marcion is inexplicable without a basis, and still more so its presence in Greg.; I hold it to have been really original in Luke (comp. Hilg., Volkm.), and still *preserved* in the leading point of the teaching about prayer, xi. 13.

[1] Whilst many (not including Tholuck) have recognized the position given to the Lord's Prayer by Luke as the more correct one (see Kamph. p. 8), few have been inclined to find Luke's text the more original. Two different occasions and speeches (thus, following the ancients, Meyer still; on the other hand, Calvin had boldly already decided more correctly and indeed for Luke, Kamph. p. 5) are, of course, no longer to be thought of. For Luke: Schleiermacher, Baumg. Crus., Br. Bauer, Holtzm., Schenkel, Weizs., Kamph.; for Matthew: Neander, De Wette, Bleek, Ewald, &c. (comp. Kamph. p. 8). Kamph. finds in Matt. only paraphrases, a close approximation to battology; Bleek is inclined to think that Luke gives the notes of a listener, Matthew the completion by the other disciples. The following points are decisive: (1) Luke's Ebionite source is later than Matthew, comp. only Luke xi. 5—13. (2) The Lord's Prayer is plainly inserted *merely* as introduction to the address on prayer—in such a case the curtailment is very intelligible. (3) Luke's source evidently has additions, at least in minutiæ (ver. 3 daily, ver. 4 every one). (4) The full form of address, "Father in the heavens!" is in harmony with Jesus' mode of expression, with the becoming demeanour and devotion of one who is praying from below and for what is below (see verses 2 and 3), and the choicest expression of the common character of the prayer (*our* Father) must be present at the very beginning to indicate the tone of the whole. (5) The leap from the highest, the kingdom, to bread (vv. 2, 3), is abrupt and painful; moreover, it is characteristic of Jesus' practical manner to lay stress on human performances, on the fulfilment of the Divine *will*: but in the first petition this is done only in the abstract, in the second (as if God alone were to act) not at all (on the contrary, Matt. vi. 10, comp. vii. 21, xii. 50, xxi. 31, xxvi. 42). The coming of the kingdom is very beautifully supplemented by the fulfilment of the Divine will, by which the earth is raised to a level with heaven. (6) The joyous temperament of Jesus would not conclude the prayer with a mere negative; the complement, "And deliver us from the evil one," the idea of deliverance, of successful resistance, must close the prayer (Matt. vi. 13), and only the gloomy Ebionite could halt at a negative, although he has what is similar in xviii. 3. (7) All systematic arrangement is destroyed in Luke. We do not know whether the third petition (bread) is to be reckoned with the previous two as a petition for gifts, or with the fourth and fifth as a petition for help in need; or whether it represents (only a single petition, whilst in the other cases there are two) a third category of its own. These objections are noticeable also from the division by Schenkel. In Matthew, the elucidation (vi. 14 sq.) is all that can be left open to question (comp. xviii. 35). But Jesus may have repeatedly given utterance to this principle; and he may have added it as an illustration on this occasion.

The order of the prayer is this: After invoking God under the new, or at any rate newly-understood, name of the Father in the heavens—nay, under a new name, that of the common Father of a human brotherhood who cry, "Our Father!" follow the six—not four, nor five, nor seven, nor ten—petitions.[1] The first three make their starting-point the Eternal One, into whose heaven the suppliants enter; and relate to His rights, interests, and institutions, which heaven and earth must recognize and serve. The person of God is to be hallowed, i.e. recognized and honoured in its absolute uniqueness. The kingdom of God, still a longed-for future, is to come upon earth. The fulfilment of the will of God, the fundamental condition of the advent of the kingdom for all and for each, is to come to pass on earth as in the heavens.[2] In the third petition, the wishes expressed descend

[1] God, as Father, in the Old Test. and by the Rabbis, see above, pp. 72 sqq. Comp. Lightfoot, p. 301; Schöttgen, p. 60. Tholuck. Kamph. pp. 22 sqq. In Old Test. comp. particularly Is. lxiii. 16 (Ps. ciii. 13), and Ecclus. xxiii. 1: *κύριε, πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα ζωῆς μου.* By the Rabbis, abinu bashamaim (often). Our Father, comp. the Rabbis and *Bab. Berac.* f. 30, 1: orantem oportere semper, cum orat, se cum ecclesia consociare. *Number* of the petitions: four according to Luke (Schenkel, p. 180, temptation the conclusion of the fourth); five according to Luke (the patrons of Luke, particularly Kamph. p. 17); seven according to Matthew (deliverance from the evil one, which, however, is only the positive to the negative, being separately reckoned), Aug., Luther, Tholuck, Bleek, Köstl., Hilg.; ten petitions, Stier, *Reden Jesu*, 1843, I. pp. 198 sq., reckoning with the rest, (1) invocation, (2) the condition in Matt. vi. 12, (3) the spurious conclusion. *Six* petitions, Orig., Chrys., Calv., Reform. It is interesting that Tholuck, although reckoning seven petitions, nevertheless finds a Trinitarian arrangement, as does also Stier (Tholuck; Kamph. p. 20).

[2] Tertullian distinguished (1) cœlestia, (2) terrena; thus, correctly, also Wetstein (who, indeed, reckons six cœl.), Tholuck, Schenkel, Kamphausen. But De Wette's point of view (contrary to Kamph.) is quite admissible, namely, that the first three petitions exhibit merely aspiration, the second three checks. This view, indeed, is not to be got rid of. Weizsäcker and Hanne incorrectly divide the sentences into vows and petitions. Jewish prayers analogous to the first three petitions: In the synagogue prayer Kaddish (Vitr. *D. Syn. vet.* III. 962). Schöttgen, p. 61: jitgaddel vejitkaddesh shemo vejamlich malkuto, *i. e.* magnificetur et sanctificetur nomen ejus magnum in mundo, quem sec. beneplacitum suum creavit, et regnare faciat regnum suum. *Bab. Berac.* 40, 2: ista oratio, in qua non est memoria regni Dei, non est oratio. *Sanh.* 28, 2, similar. *Soh. Exod.* f. 28: Deus vult, ut glorificetur nomen suum in terra, quemadm. gloriosum est in cœlo (per angelos). As prayer, *Bab. Berac.* f. 29, 2: volunt. tuam fac in cœlis et dato quietem spiritus timentibus te infra. Lightfoot,

more completely from heaven to earth. But for the earth there are not only joyous wishes: here there is more to negative than to affirm, more to take away than to build. Thus the last three petitions bring in the needs, the limitations, the checks, of poor human life. First there is bread, the elementary earthly subsistence; it is modestly asked that God will supply the bread necessary for to-day, and thus free man from care. Then there is the spiritual bread, the forgiveness of sins, the clear sky between Creator and creature, without which it is impossible to live; this is asked for with the assurance, conditioning the granting of the petition, that the petitioner will also forgive his debtors. Lastly, there is the dread of the future threatening afresh the sky that has become clear, the tempting power of sin, with the final petition for preservation from temptation, for deliverance from the evil power of temptation, from the devil.[1]

p. 302. Schöttgen, p. 62. To sanctify (Levit. x. 3; Ez. xxviii. 22, xxxviii. 23), finely explained as γνῶναι and φοβεῖσθαι, Is. xxix. 23 sq. The kingdom of God is more definitely explained by redemption and the coming of the Messiah, see the prayer Kadd. in Schöttgen, p. 61: efflorescat redemtio ejus (Dei) et præsto adsit Messias et populum suum liberet. Will in the heavens, comp. Matt. xviii. 10, xxii. 30. On earth, vii. 21.

[1] Jewish analogies to the fourth petition: *Bab. Berac.* f. 29, 2: necessitates populi tui Israelis sunt multæ; sit beneplac. tuum, ut des unicuique, quod sufficit in alimentum. Comp. above, p. 33, note 2. Fifth petition: (Ps. lxxix. 9) *Targ.* Ps. xxv. 11: propt. nomen tuum, domine, relinques peccatum meum. Relinque omnia pecc. mea. *Joma*, f. 85, 2: dies expiat. non expiat. (pecc.), donec cum prox. in gratiam redieris. Sixth petition: (Ps. lxxi. 4) *Berac.* f. 16, 2: Rabbi Judah precari sic fuit solitus: sit beneplac. tuum, ut liberes nos ab impudentibus et impudentia, ab hom. malo, a socio m., a vicino m., a Satana destructore, a judicio duro et ab adversario duro. Comp. *Jalk. Rub.* f. 139, 2: venit tempus ad inducendum illum in manus tentationis. We cannot go into the endless controversy (the carnificina Scult.) of theologians and philologists over ἐπιούσιος, which does not elsewhere occur (as Origen early noticed) in the whole Greek literature; comp. Tholuck, De Wette, Meyer, Bleek, Kamphausen. The clearest explanation is offered by the Gospels of the Hebrews, lechem machar, bread for the next day (Athanas.: αἰῶνος μέλλοντος), Salm., Grot., Scal., Wetst., Bengel, Fr., Win., Mey., Hilg., Buns., Grimm, Holtzm., Schenkel (Kamph. p. 90). This explanation appears to make the word easily derivable from ἐπιοῦσα (ἐπιέναι, to come next), and it also appears to give a good sense. But it contradicts Matt. vi. 34, as has been noticed by De Wette, Weizs., Delitzsch, Tholuck, and Kamphausen; it cannot seriously be based on Ex. xvi. 4 sqq. (thus, however, Hilg. 1867, p. 379), and this is also Tholuck's opinion; and, in relation to Matt.

The justification of the petitions, as well as the certainty of their being answered, are worthily and vigorously expressed in the spurious doxology at the end, which ascribes to God the prerogative and the power to comply with the petitions. Jesus himself would find such a demonstrative concluding doxology, after the simple petitions previously given, so much the less necessary because he left the judgment of the petitions to God, who, he knew, was acquainted with the needs of the petitioner.[1] But the chief point is that Jesus gave even this prayer, as a pattern

vi. 34, the petition is not a becoming one, but the contrary. See, in addition, the passages from the Rabbis, above, p. 33, note 2. Therefore the only derivation that can be admitted is that from the other ἔπειμι (to be upon), as an adjective derived either directly from the participle (comp. ἐθελούσιος), or from the noun οὐσία (comp. ἐπουσιώδης). In meaning, the two approximate, since the former would have to be rendered, the bread thereto appointed (ἔπειμι, of reward and punishment), thereto belonging (comp. Prov. xxx. 8; Ez. xvi. 27: τ. νόμιμά σου), the latter, the bread needful to life, to existence. The objection to the last two explanations—that it should then have been ἐπούσιος (comp. ἐπουσία, ἐπουσιώδης)—can be decisively met by referring to the occurrence elsewhere of the hiatus in Greek (comp. only v. 33), and particularly to the possibility of the antithesis of a similar sound to περιούσιος (comp. Kamph., following Leo Meyer, against the exegetist Meyer and others, pp. 86 sqq.). But it is easy to decide between the derivation from the participle and that from the noun. The former (by Leo Meyer and Kamph.) can be admitted only when the secondary reading of Luke is followed (the food belonging to the *day*). Moreover, it is not correct to say that οὐσία signifies only substance or essence; it signifies also life, existence (Soph. *Trach.* 911: ἅπαις οὐσία, Tholuck, also Grimm, p. 164, comp. ἐπουσία, περιουσία), therefore ἐπιούσιος is that which is necessary to existence. This meaning was early found in the word by the Etym. Mag.; Suidas: ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἁρμόζων; in such a sense the Pesh. translated: panis necessitatis nostræ; Tert., It., Vulg. (Luther), quotidianus. Comp. the expositions of Orig., Greg. Nyss., Basil, Chrys., Luther, Beza, Kuin., Tholuck, Ewald, Bleek, Weiza. In antiquity, the favourite expositions: substantialis and supersubst. (spiritual), from Iren. till Jerome, the Middle Ages, Delitzsch, and Hengst.; also venturi seculi, Athanas. and others. As to the fifth petition, there is a similar sentiment in Ecclus. xxviii. 1 sq., comp. Matt. xviii. 35. The words "as we also," &c., express no legal claim, but simply compliance with the condition, the *con. sine qua non*. The sixth petition: temptation direct from God, Deut. viii. 2, or permitted (Satan), Job i. 12; Matt. iv. 1; Luke xxii. 31; 1 Cor. x. 13; comp. Matt. xxvi. 41. "Evil" is masc., as mostly in Matt. in the speeches of Jesus, v. 37, xiii. 19; on the contrary, Rom. xii. 9.

[1] The doxology is decisively wanting in Luke, in Matthew, in the old Fathers, and in the codices. It is present in the Apost. Const., 3, 18, and briefer (βασ. εἰς τ. αἰ.) 7, 24; as well as in Aug. Similar are not only Jewish formulæ (Lightfoot, p. 302; Schöttgen, p. 64), but also 1 Chron. xxix. 11 sqq.; Tobit xiii. 23 (Vulgate); Rev. v. 12, vii. 12.

and example, only at the request of the disciples, and not without protestation against every form of Gentile-like babble, since, according to the tradition of Luke—which for once is unobjectionable—the disciples were loath to give up the Baptist's fixed and circumstantial forms of prayer. And even after he had given it, he so little permitted its use as the rule and ordinance of the private circle, that no trace of it appears in the history of his life, in the records of the Church at Jerusalem, in the recollections of the Apostle Paul; until at length, in the second century, the regular, the mechanical catholic use of this prayer was established by the Church, which was not, however, therefore the inventor of it, but based the use of it on the written report of the Gospels.[1]

What was peculiar, distinctive, specific, in the circle of Jesus, was the direct opposite of all those external observances and painstaking performances which were more or less indifferent to his internal religion. And it was exactly in this contrast that Jesus' opponents found the peculiar mark, the sign of deficiency, of this new and singular association of men, an association in which even the initial sign of baptism was entirely lacking; just as afterwards, heathenism condemned the Christian religion

[1] Matthew has the prayer in a more correct place as to time (against Schenkel, p. 180); Luke gives it much too late, in contradiction to the occasion which he describes. But the prayer did not stand in the midst of the attacks on the Pharisees (where it would disturb the context, see above, pp. 287, 333); it would, moreover, be inappropriate for Jesus to force a prayer into the midst of other teaching. What is correct in Luke is the relative isolation, and the concretely drawn occasion (xi. 1), which also Schl., p. 256, and Weizs., p. 406, have recognized, but Br. Bauer has denied. Whether on this occasion (not exactly against the Baptist) Jesus spoke Matt. vi. 7 sq., is uncertain. On the use of many words in prayer by the Gentiles and the Jews, comp. briefly Lightfoot, p. 300, and Schöttgen, p. 58; Wetstein, pp. 322 sq. Desine deos gratulando obtundere, Terence, *Heaut.* 5, 1, 6. Multiplicans orationem audiitur, Hier. *Taan.* f. 67, 3. On the other hand, *Berach.* 61, 1: verba pauca sint ante faciem dei. Also Is. i. 15; Eccles. v. 1 sq.; Ecclus. vii. 14. *No trace of the Lord's Prayer* in the New Test. (particularly Luke v. 33). Oratio legitima et ordinaria, first in Tertullian, Cyprian. Comp. *Apost. Const.* 7, 24. Tholuck. Hence Tholuck errs in thinking that the prayer was prescribed to the Church by Jesus. Correctly Fr., Mey.: οὕτως, thus briefly; but also, in such a sense. It would, however, certainly be a folly to ascribe to the Church of the second century the invention of a prayer (Br. Bauer) the ideal spirit of which contradicts that Church.

as atheism for its want of sacrifices and temples.[1] How early the disciples of Jesus—to whom the Sermon on the Mount had, however, permitted fasting, though in a new way—learnt, from intercourse with him, free principles and free practices, is shown by the complaint made by the opposite party of the disciples' neglect of fasting and of prayer, and by the later complaint of their neglect of ceremonial ablutions.[2] In fact, the general appearance, demeanour, style of life, and habits, were such as had never been heard of in Israel for a teacher and a school. To the dress—mantle and under-garment—were wanting the four enormously large tassels of the Scribes, the ridiculous symbols of their extraordinary observance of the divine commands; on the forehead and the arm failed altogether the superstitious and truly leathern phylacteries, and to the head the unnecessary, slovenly, and affected roughness by which Pharisees, Essenes, and the disciples of John, made themselves conspicuous. Jesus as little despised the anointing of his face and hair as the washing for his feet.[3] At table, he permitted wine, and delicate food in the shape of bread and honey, flesh, fish, and fowls.[4] Dwelling in a large and well-to-do household, he brought others to table with him; and he was, on the other hand, fond of reclining as guest at hospitable tables, and of receiving kiss, and

[1] On baptism (above, II. p. 376), see the history of the Passion. On the charges made by the heathen against the Christians, comp. Minuc. Fel, *Octav.* 10: cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra? Cap. 8: templa ut busta despiciunt, Deos despuunt, rident sacra, miserentur miseri sacerdotum.

[2] Comp. Matt. ix. 14, xii. 1, xv. 1; Luke v. 33.

[3] Tassels, Matt. xxiii. 5; see on the passage. The wearing of these was prescribed by the Law, Num. xv. 38. Dress, Matt. x. 10, xxvii. 28, 31, 35. On phylacteries, see on Matt. xxiii. 5. Jos. Scaliger believed (*Elench. trihær.* c. 8) that Jesus, as a Jew, must have worn them; and Ex. xiii. 9, but still more Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18, afford ground for arguing his position. But Jerome, on the passage, early found (with very correct exposition of Ex. xiii.) non intelligentibus Phar., quod hæc in corda portanda sint, non in corpore; and Schöttgen (p. 195) and Wetstein (p. 481) have agreed with him, while, on the other hand, they have conceded the legal tassels. At any rate, it is impossible to ascribe such mere mechanism to Jesus; and the Gospels know of prayers in the chamber, but *nothing* of the phylacteries. Attention to personal cleanliness, &c., Matt. vi. 16, xxvi. 6; Luke vii. 44 sqq.

[4] Matt. xi. 19, vii. 10, x. 29, xiv. 17; Luke xxiv. 42; John xxi. 13.

ablution, and anointing, not rejecting even the most costly services.[1] Thus could it happen that he was decried as eater and drinker, because he never exhibited that life of fasting by which, from week to week, the Pharisee would excuse his festivities.[2] In the case of Jesus, a great outlay was certainly rather a permitted exception than the rule, just as it was later in the case of the most kindred-minded of the Apostles, Paul. Jesus spoke approvingly of the Baptist for having allowed nothing effeminate in dress or habits; he made it a part of his own condition of life not to have where to lay his head; and he enjoined upon his Apostles the simplest apparel and equipments.[3] Therefore, it is not to be supposed that he wore a costly coat like that of the high-priests, but most likely one given him by the women.[4]

The main point was, that he filled the simple habits of his life with spiritual realities. Thus, in particular, he made the evening meal with his disciples—a meal which, indeed, in the pressure of labour and travel, he often dispensed with—the common opportunity for intimate self-disclosures, as well as for the worship of God, and for family festivity; he even elevated it into the training-place for his church.[5] A friend of unconstraint, a foe to formalism, he yet adopted a certain impressive order, in harmony with his conservative yet enlightened upholding of the rights of the household, and, as it were, by way of substitute for the domesticity which his mission in the cause of the kingdom of heaven compelled him to forego. As the head of a household, he took the bread, gave thanks and blessing, broke the bread and gave it to his disciples, spoke affectionately to all individually, reviewed the daily work, fostered by his encouragements, his reproofs, and his conciliatory manner, the brotherly love of all with

[1] Matt. viii. 15, ix. 10, xxvi. 6; Luke vii. 36, x. 40, xi. 37, xiv. 1; Mark xiv. 3.

[2] Matt. xi. 19, xxiii. 6, 25.

[3] Matt. xi. 8, viii. 20, x. 9. Comp. Philipp. iv. 12.

[4] On the coat of Jesus, John xix. 23, see the history of the Passion.

[5] Comp. Matt. ix. 10; Luke xxii. 15, xxiv. 29 sqq.; Mark iii. 20, vi. 31.

all whom the common table brought into close companionship.[1] He felt happy in this circle, which, as he himself said, occupied the place of the family, since it was the widened family circle of sentiment and spirit; and he showed, when he last took leave of them, how much he had enjoyed their society, and how reluctantly he parted from them. To the disciples, however, to whom he in this way so marvellously exhibited nobility and condescension in word and behaviour, in friendly intercourse and pressure of the hand; to whom, after the conflict of the day, he gave the guarantee of peace, rest, a feeling of security and of inviolable happy fellowship; to these disciples he was thus the provider of hours so memorable that they were compelled to perpetuate the feasts of love after his departure, in order that they might find in the breaking of bread some compensation for his absence—nay, a belief in his presence and the hope of his return.[2] A comparison of these sacred meals of Jesus with those of the Essenes is certainly readily suggested; but it would be difficult to overlook the complete and fundamental distinction. In the meals of Jesus there were no secrets, no sacrificial awe, no solemn addresses, no silence, no stiff routine, whether of manner or of place or of fare; but there was the opposite of all this—innocent enjoyment, genial interchange of thought, and yet, above all, the lofty tone of a fellowship which was consecrated to the service of God and of mankind, and which imparted to the bond of virtue thus permanently organized in the world, all the good features of earthly life—social intercourse, friendship, and the spirit of the family.[3]

This domestic association was not, however, a communistic alliance. Here, again, it differed from Essenism. There is no

[1] Head of household, Matt. x. 25. Breaking of bread, Matt. xxvi. 26, comp. xiv. 19, xv. 36; Luke xxiv. 30; John xxi. 13. Conversations, Matt. xiii. 36, xviii. 1; Mark iv. 10, vii. 17. Brethren, Matt. xxiii. 8. Renan's exaggerations with reference to the common meals, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 302.

[2] Matt. xii. 49; Luke xxii. 15. Reminiscence, Luke xxiv. 30; Acts ii. 46, xx. 11; Rev. iii. 20. Blessedness, John vi. 68.

[3] The meals of the Essenes, see above, Vol. I. p. 383.

trace of a throwing of the property into one common fund; and the later community of goods at Jerusalem in apostolic times is so much the less a proof of such a proceeding, inasmuch as it was not itself carried to such an extent.[1] The disciples of Jesus had left their property, but had not sold it for the benefit of the association.[2] Many of them did not altogether deprive themselves of the silver and copper with which their possessions supplied them.[3] The women who accompanied Jesus retained possession of their property.[4] When Jesus paid the temple tax, he by no means paid it for all his disciples.[5] Only the supply of daily wants, the daily bread, was provided for out of common funds; and this did not involve so much outlay as to make it necessary for either Jesus or his disciples to resume from time to time their former callings, after the example of the Pharisees at Jerusalem.[6] The necessaries of life—bread, fish, poultry—were cheap, fishing was free, and Eastern frugality required little beyond a loaf of bread.[7] These small needs were met by voluntary offerings. To a less extent they were supplied by the disciples, although these may have rendered this small return to Jesus for his labour; but he never took from them the fee for instruction which was usually paid to the Scribes. "Freely ye have received, freely give."[8] Just as little—as these words themselves show—did Jesus accept gifts of money from the people whom he taught, or, after the manner of the Scribes, allow his disciples to collect alms; what he accepted was only hospitality and shelter, and this was abundantly at his disposal, at least in hospitable Galilee. The opinion favoured by the fourth Gospel, that a purse was kept for the money contributed by the people,

[1] Acts ii. 44, iv. 32; Gal. ii. 10; Rom. xv. 26.

[2] Matt. xix. 27, opp. xix. 21.

[3] Matt. x. 9.

[4] Luke viii. 3.

[5] Matt. xvii. 24, 27.

[6] Matt. xiv. 17, xv. 34, xvi. 5; Luke ix. 13; John iv. 8, xiii. 29.

[7] Matt. x. 29, xvii. 27. Mere bread, Mark iii. 20. Frugality of the Jewish priests in Roman prisons (nuts), Josephus, *Vita*, 3.

[8] Matt. x. 8; Luke viii. 1. Scribes, see above, Vol. I. p. 349. Yet Josephus condemns begging as *αἰσχύνη*, *Ant.* 17, 9, 3.

is therefore not to be entertained. It contradicts both the facts and the dignity of Jesus, who held out no alms-box to collect money for himself, and perhaps also he collected no money for the poor.[1] On the contrary, he was fully cared and provided for by his deaconesses, the pious and indefatigably generous women who accompanied him; but in noble dislike of the parasitism of the Scribes, he accepted this care and provision only in a very limited measure for the necessities of the moment. Hence, also, it cannot well be maintained that a purse was kept for the contributions of the women, for the earlier Gospels offer nothing upon the subject, the missionary address to the Apostles forbids bag and purse, and the notice in the fourth Gospel of Judas as the bearer of the bag is very evidently due to later amplification.[2] Of course, it is impossible to estimate with certainty the available property of the several possessors of means in the society. It could not be so great as to admit of the disbursement of 200 denarii (francs) to purchase bread for a single meal for the great company in the wilderness; indeed, it is evident that Mark speaks of this only through a misunderstanding, while Luke represents the disciples as regarding such an expenditure as exorbitant and impossible.[3] So much, however, is fact, that want and pinching abstinence were never known in this circle; that there was always something over, which, at the intimation of Jesus—an intimation only too zealously carried out by certain pedantic Pharisaic disciples—each disciple could distribute from his own supply to the poor; and that Jesus, un-

[1] John xii. 6, xiii. 29. Hospitality in Galilee (φιλοξενωτάτη πόλις), Josephus, *Vita*, 29; comp. above, Vol. II. p. 8, note †. Celsus spoke of Jesus going round begging, 1, 62. Reimarus and Renan (p. 152) speak of his comfortable and careless life.

[2] Luke viii. 3; Matt. xxvii. 55 (on the journey to Jerusalem); Mark xv. 41 (also in Galilee); Matt. x. 9. See also preceding note. Ewald (p. 532) naturally holds fast to Judas' bag. On the other hand, Weisse, p. 403. Comp. the free-will offerings, Ex. xxxv. 21.

[3] Luke ix. 13; Mark vi. 37.

accustomed though he was to carry money with him, expressly distinguished himself and his disciples from the poor.[1]

Not uninterruptedly, yet almost always, was Jesus in the presence of his disciples. Frequently he was called away alone to perform a work of healing, or to be guest at a feast. Frequently, also, he experienced a desire to be alone either in the room or, oftener, in the open air on the hills, where in solitary prayer he sought confirmation of his calling, clearer light as to his duty, and a fresh supply of self-denying strength.[2] There is some exaggeration in the statement of the second Gospel that he escaped from his disciples secretly.[3] The re-union was crowned by the fraternal kiss.[4] When he was on a missionary tour, he gave the sign for continuing the journey, the command to embark; the disciples took the necessary provisions and distributed the work of rowing among themselves.[5] He then continued the conversations, particularly when they concerned secret questions; or he indulged in rest and sleep.[6] When travelling on land, he always went afoot; he never—as Renan fables—rode on a mule at the head of the procession, like a little king greedily accepting the homage of the people and of the disciples, after the manner of the entry into Jerusalem.[7] At such times, abstinences could not always be avoided, so that he was grateful for a drink of water and for the bread which the villages and homesteads supplied.[8] Sometimes he went in the company of the disciples,

[1] Luke xxii. 35; Matt. x. 9, xvii. 27, xxvi. 9; John xiii. 29.

[2] Matt. viii. 7, ix. 18; Luke vii. 36, xi. 37, xiv. 1; Matt. xiv. 23.

[3] Mark i. 35, comp. Luke iv. 42. Also Luke vi. 12, ix. 18; Mark vi. 46.

[4] The fraternal kiss cannot with certainty be shown in the circle of Jesus; and it is not to be inferred with certainty either from Luke vii. 45, or from the custom of the apostolic time, 1 Cor. xvi. 20. But it may have been given after temporary separation, Matt. xxvi. 49, comp. Luke vii. 45. Comp. Schöttgen, p. 96.

[5] Matt. viii. 18, xvi. 5, 7.

[6] Matt. xvi. 6, xx. 25, viii. 24.

[7] Matt. xii. 1, xix. 1, xx. 17; Mark x. 32; John iv. 6. He rode only on the entry into Jerusalem. On the other hand, Renan's fantastic description, *Vie de Jésus*, pp. 190 sqq.

[8] Matt. x. 42, comp. Mark vi. 36.

sometimes in advance of them, but so that he could distinctly follow the conversations which he was fond of allowing them to carry on independently among themselves; and he would interpose to reprove or to decide their controversies, and to clear up their misunderstandings.[1] Moreover, a true head of the household, he protected his disciples against the inimical attacks of their opponents.[2] When he wished to take up his quarters in any locality, he sent several disciples in advance, or by his own inspection sought to discover the man who was worthy that he should find accommodation in his house. The disciples then entered the house with him, or distributed themselves through the village.[3] The Old Testament gives a beautiful and graphic picture of such a lodging-place, in the prophet's chamber provided by the Shunammite woman—a little upper room furnished with couch, table, chair, and lamp; the Gospels themselves give an illustration in the house of the sisters, where Martha is chiefly occupied with attendance on the honoured guest, while Mary sits listening at his feet.[4] Naturally, the accommodation varied in character, from the more humble to the more luxurious. Jesus never inquired concerning the levitical purity of the houses, tables, seats, or vessels.[5] Sometimes the reception was not friendly; then he took his disciples to the next village, either without comment, or loudly and severely condemning the churlishness and inhospitality that had been exhibited.[6]

[1] Matt. xvi. 6 sqq., xviii. 1, xx. 24; Mark x. 32. [2] Matt. xii. 7, xv. 1.

[3] Matt. xxi. 1; Luke ix. 52; Matt. x. 11.

[4] 2 Kings iv. 10; Luke x. 38 (comp. history of the Passion).

[5] Matt. x. 11. Absolute indifference, Luke x. 7 (Pauline). Jewish customs, Mark vii. 3 sq.

[6] Matt. x. 13; Luke ix. 56.

Division IV.—SUCCESSFUL RESULTS AND APOSTOLIC MISSION.

A.—The Belief of the People, and the Opposition of the Teachers.

Nothing is, on the whole, more certain than that the ministry of Jesus early met with the sympathy, indeed sometimes the enthusiasm, of Galilee. In the first place, this preaching must have drawn to itself the attention of the mobile Galileans, as a novelty; in the next place, it was, in a certain sense, nothing else than an after-blossoming and a continuation of the Johannine movement which had taken such a strong hold upon Galilee; and finally and decisively, it was a preaching which—as the Gospels report, giving a condensed description of the impression it produced—betrayed its divine authority, an authority different from that of the Scribes. The Gospels have not specified the several characteristics that produced this impression; they point simply to the preaching itself, particularly to the preaching at Capernaum or to the Sermon on the Mount, in order to make intelligible to the reader the one fact out of the other.[1] We can conceive that the holy fervour and the confidence of Jesus' ministrations, the thoroughness of his destructive criticisms and of his re-constructions, and, besides the repetition of the sweet cry of the kingdom of heaven, his unheard-of proclamation of human dignity and of human rights, as well as his whole natural, cheerful, fresh spirit of new moral doctrine, took hold of the Galileans. To the influence of his words was added that of his affability and amiability, of the kindness of his per-

[1] Curiosity of the Galileans, Matt. xi. 7; see above, Vol. II. p. 13. Johannine movement in Galilee, *ib.* II. p. 267 (against Hausrath, who makes Matt. xi. 7 refer to the people of Jerusalem!). Authority, Matt. vii. 29; Luke iv. 32; Mark i. 22.

sonal intercourse with the poor as well as the rich, to which the country people were specially sensitive. Once more, though certainly not as the last thing, there is naturally to be mentioned his ministry of healing, which the second and third Evangelists, in distinction from the first, have described directly from the popular sentiment as the characteristic feature of the new doctrine "with authority."[1] In fact, in the whole of our sources, it is much oftener reported that the people—in a high degree sensuous and even superstitious—were drawn together by the miraculous works of Jesus, or greeted such works with enthusiastic cries, than that they were thus influenced by his teaching ministrations.[2] As has been before regretted, it was the fate of the greatest personality that ever came into the world, of the sublimest preaching that ever made itself heard in the world, to appear to the sensuous spirit of the world less stupendous, glorious, heavenly, than the material results which could be looked upon by the physical eye.

The Gospels, certainly, do not put us in a position to follow in detail the development of the successful results of Jesus' ministry from small to great or from great to greatest, though they do tell us something of that development. For, notwithstanding the absence of exact information—a lack which they supply simply from their religious opinions or from actual but later facts—they delight throughout in describing his success as extraordinary from the beginning onwards; and in this respect Luke and Mark far surpass Matthew. It is true that the latter represents the Sermon on the Mount—which he decidedly antedates—as being listened to by multitudes of people from all parts of the land; but the subsequent narrative of daily details is not so much marked by crowded masses of people as is the case in Luke, and still more in Mark.[3] According to the last,

[1] Mark i. 27, comp. verse 22; Luke iv. 32, 36.

[2] Matt. ix. 8, 26, 31, 33, and parallel passages.

[3] Matt. iv. 25 (surpassed by Luke vi. 17; Mark iii. 7); also viii. 1, 18, ix. 33, 36.

Jesus on the very first day flees from the people who crowd upon him, and who then hasten after him, and will not allow him to withdraw further. He goes into the wilderness, but here again are the people; he returns to Capernaum, and the door of the house is completely blockaded; and when he preaches by the shore of the lake, the people crowd upon him until he takes refuge in Peter's boat. On the other hand, Mark certainly postpones the Sermon on the Mount and the choosing of the Apostles later than Matthew; but how exaggerated is his picture of the popular crowds![1]

Several faint evidences, however, betray the exaggeration of these descriptions and the more modest proportions of the early success. Especially are these evidences to be found in Matthew, after his Sermon on the Mount, but almost as conspicuously in the other Gospels also. When the two pair of brothers, the publican, and they who volunteered, were called; at the healing of Simon's mother-in-law, of the leper, of the centurion's son; at the Sermon on the Mount, which was addressed only to the disciples; on the passing through the corn-field, and the controversy with the Pharisees connected with that incident; on all these occasions, Jesus was either alone or was accompanied by few besides his disciples. These facts show, at least, that the thronging of the people was not continuous, even when Jesus did not expressly seek to avoid it; and they show also that it reached its extreme proportions only gradually. The later period affords very important additional illustrations. It was in the second half of the Galilean part of his ministry that the powerful cry of Jesus first reached the court at Tiberias, the Scribes at Jerusalem, and John in prison; it was then that Jesus first spoke of the forcible entry into the kingdom of heaven. It was at this period that there first appeared Jerusalemite and isolated Syro-Phenician adherents.[2] That even the neighbouring

[1] Luke iv. 42, v. 1, 15, 19, vi. 17, vii. 9, 21, viii. 42; Mark i. 35, 45, ii. 1—4, 13, iii. 7, 20, iv. 1, v. 31, vi. 31.

[2] Matt. xi. 1, 12, xiv. 1, xv. 1, 22.

Galilean north did not at once so copiously flow towards him as the existing reports represent, is evident from Jesus' resolve to send forth his disciples in order to diffuse his teaching more widely; and that the number of persons who came to him from the south never reached the measure of the crowds that flocked to him, is proved by the fact that Judæa and Jerusalem were not personally acquainted with the festival-visiting prophet of Galilee.[1] In fine, the Gospels themselves expressly agree in betraying an alteration of view; while they have described the beginning at once like the end, the opening like the close, they have satisfied the truth at least by assuming a continual increase of the popular sympathy.[2] This more gradual character of the success of Jesus does not at all detract from his dignity and greatness; at the same time, it is very instructive to see that the greatest also was conditioned by the limitations of time and space, and by the laws of the imagination of his age. In consequence of the former condition, he became known only gradually; and in consequence of the latter, he was prevented from obtaining that rapid popularity which a Scribe might win through the fame of his ancient and highly revered school, or the Baptist through the novelty and startling character of his début—each through material means of exciting a sensation.

It is not, however, as if Jesus' success were ever doubtful, as if—according to the most recent scepticism—the ministry of Jesus had been continuously an obscure one, as if the great gatherings of the people had never taken place.[3] All the accounts, the actual excitement in Tiberias, Jerusalem, and Machærus, the brief course of the ministry, so dreaded and so violently brought to a close by his opponents—above all, the certain utterances of Jesus himself, speak to the contrary. He did not say that he had found no faith in Israel, but only that in Israel he had found no such faith as that of the centurion,

[1] Matt. x. 1, xxi. 10 sq.

[2] Particularly, Luke v. 15, ix. 7. Comp. Matt. viii. 16, 18; Mark vi. 14.

[3] Thus Volkmar, *Ev.* pp. 233, 371.

He spoke of a prophet finding acceptance everywhere in his country, only not in his home. He perceived, from the days of the Baptist to his own, a tumultuous thronging of the spirits in Israel towards the kingdom of heaven, even though it was not until a late period that he could speak of his success as rivalling that of the Baptist. He found the harvest-field increasingly great and rich, and the number of labourers—the sowers and reapers—much too small, so that at the close of the period we are now considering he sent forth Apostles.[1] But the region that supplied the first concourse would be limited to the Galilean lake district, the old middle point of Galilee, and would be gradually extended over the surrounding mountain and hill country. Even in this district, periodical ebbs and flows would not be wanting. The agitation would naturally be the greatest on the rest and preaching day of the Sabbath and under the influence of striking works of healing; while during the week, when the Galileans were industriously labouring in their fields and at their trades, the agitation would subside again. To these external circumstances must be added the inner disposition of the people: to the quick, passionate kindling of Galilean enthusiasm, when all was fire and zeal, when one man urged and drew another, when the people followed the teacher for hours, and remained near him for days, there always followed the usual reaction, that Galilean relapse which Josephus later was compelled to experience as much in times of war as Jesus in times of peace, and indeed in the chief seats of Jesus' ministry.[2] The sympathy, the crowds, and the discipleships of the wider missionary journeys, must in each case have been dependent upon preceding events, and did not everywhere exhibit themselves.[3] What is most important is, that the movement never stood

[1] Matt. viii. 10, xiii. 57, xi. 12, ix. 37.

[2] Comp. Matt. xi. 7, 16, 20. Josephus' autobiography exhibits sudden excitement on the part of the Galileans (πεισθέντες, *Vita* 8; ταχὺ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπείθετο, *ib.* 31, also 21, 23), but quite as rapid falling off, *ib.* 30, 31. See also above, Vol. II. p. 13, note †.

[3] Matt. xiii. 54.

still; the leader of it was continually arousing a fresh sensation, the news of which, definite or vague, rapidly made its way through the surrounding population; wider circles were ever opening and yielding to Jesus' influence; and the first attracted ever felt themselves attracted anew. Enthusiastic receptions, acclamations, eager attempts to approach Jesus, prostrations before him, a retinue of both the whole and the sick, were never wanting, even if all these did not reach their climax until a late period, as the Gospels themselves show.[1] How often, in the time of the Jewish war, did these Galileans, in masses—the whole population of a town at once, with wives and children—greet their governor Josephus with loud acclamations of "Benefactor! Saviour!"[2] If one were not inclined to credit the Gospels, he might draw an inference from the facts which Josephus reports as eye-witness. There are lacking, however, two forms of enthusiasm which are wont to prevail in times of religious excitement, and which might so easily have connected themselves with the sublime and altogether new teaching of Jesus. We see nothing of a giving away, of a throwing away, of money and goods under the impression that they were despicable or unholy. We see nothing of convulsions, trances, second-sight, and soothsaying. This is a proof of the healthy spirit of Jesus himself, whose personality stood in the midst with calm sobriety controlling and dominating the movement, and whose teaching, as judicious as it was lofty in doctrine, as moderate as it was authoritative in requirements, gave no encouragement to extravagances.[3] The popular following consisted essentially of the lay element; the cultured class in Jewish opinion, the party of scriptural erudition, and necessarily also a portion of the laity, kept aloof. That a great portion of the laity could break off from them, belonged to the character of Galilee as contrasting with Jerusalem.

[1] Enthusiastic utterances, Luke xi. 27, xiv. 15.

[2] Josephus, *Vita*, 47, comp. 17, 27 sq., 33, 41, 45, 48, 63; ἐυεργέτης (Luke xxii. 25) καὶ σωτὴρ τῆς χώρας, 47; also 50.

[3] See the religious agitation in Ephesus in the time of Paul, Acts xix. 17 sqq.

The "infants" or "simple" whom Jesus placed in antithesis to the men who were "wise and of understanding," and could call his own, were chiefly that real strength of the nation consisting of peasants, fishers, and handicraftsmen, whose patriotic and religious energy was famous throughout the country. This body of followers was strengthened by that circle of women—so profoundly influenced by the tender Master of religion—who were the readiest to effect the apparently impossible rupture with the ancient teachers. His followers were still further increased by the lowest classes of society, who came to him for refuge—the morally neglected and socially outcast, the publicans and sinners, the poor and the mendicants.[1] It will further on be much more plainly shown that the adherents of Jesus are, however, by no means to be regarded as a mere party of the poor. This readily suggested reproach was never made; the members of the circle of disciples themselves, and the illustrious and well-to-do persons who came for help and counsel, afford a proof to the contrary. Jesus himself distinguished between his own and the poor; and in the answer to John, "To the poor the gospel is preached," it is at least probable that the reference is not merely to the materially poor, but also—after the Old Testament—to all the unfortunate, afflicted citizens of the theocracy.[2] But a portion of his adherents was drawn from the proletariat, as certainly as the sinners and publicans belonged to that class, and as certainly as he came to seek the lost and declared the entrance of the rich into the kingdom of God to be difficult.[3] So far, a social movement easily and almost involuntarily connected itself with the religious one. While Christianity has thrust into the foreground the religious and not the social tendency, it has, nevertheless, by the preaching of the imminent

[1] Matt. xi. 25 (wise, infants); Luke viii. 2, comp. xxiii. 27; Matt. xix. 13, xxvii. 55 (women), ix. 10 (publicans), xi. 5, xxii. 9, xxvi. 11; Luke vi. 20, xiv. 13, xviii. 35. Josephus, *Vita*, 12: *ναῦται τε καὶ ἄποροι.*

[2] Matt. xxvi. 11, xi. 5. The ruler, Matt. ix. 18; rich young man, xix. 16.

[3] Matt. ix. 10, xviii. 11, xix. 23; Luke xv. 1 sqq.

kingdom of heaven, by the humanity of its principles, and by its sympathetic assistance in word and deed, called forth the greatest social revolution, the gainers by which—the poor, the sinners, the publicans, in a certain sense also the women—with a fully justified presentiment early gathered round the standard which was to lead them to victory. The judgment formed by this manifold circle of adherents concerning the man in whom they placed their trust, is indeed somewhat indefinite. Very generally, as the result of his preaching, and still more of his works of healing, we are told of nothing besides a universal astonishment and an offering of praise to God, the God of Israel, who had given such unheard-of power to men.[1] As a rule, he was addressed as Teacher, Lord, *Hebraice* Rabbi, Mari, Marin, My Lord, Our Lord, just as were the Scribes; yet the popular reflection must have been early led to apply to him the name by which he was afterwards expressly designated—that of "the Prophet."[2] Thus the Baptist was also called, whose successor he was; and it is possible that many seriously regarded him as John, in whose silence and imprisonment the popular mind could not believe.[3]

Whilst the people thus flocked to him or again held themselves aloof, some yielding to his influence, others kept back by indolence, indifference, mistrust, or timidity, waiting for the decision of the masses or of the holy body of teachers, among those who held themselves aloof being, to our surprise, and yet very intelligibly, the family of Jesus, too intimate with his ante-

[1] Matt. ix. 8, 33.

[2] Lord, Matt. vii. 22, viii. 2, 6, 21, xv. 22, xx. 30. Teacher, viii. 19, ix. 11, xii. 38, xix. 16, xxii. 16, 24, 36. Interchangeably, Matt. xvii. 15 (Lord), and Luke ix. 38 (Teacher). The Hebrew name Rabbi is expressly given to Jesus in the earlier Gospels only by the disciples (comp. Matt. xxvi. 25, 49; Mark ix. 5, xi. 21; yet see Mark x. 51, Rabbouni); in John's Gospel also by others, iii. 2, vi. 25; comp. xx. 16. Since, however, this name is identical with Teacher (John xx. 16), the people themselves will also have said Rabbi. On this subject, see above, p. 15, and remarks on Matt. xxiii. 7. *Mari* (also *mori*, comp. above, p. 15, note 2) from Aram. *mar*, *mare*, comp. Martha, above, p. 151, note 4; *Bibel-Lexikon*, III. p. 52. Prophet, Matt. xvi. 14; Luke vii. 39.

[3] Matt. xxi. 26, xvi. 14, xiv. 2.

cedents, too remote from his works, and too pious in the conventional manner of the time; whilst this fermentation of the popular consciousness was offering more of promise than of anything calculated to undeceive, the Jewish hierarchy, and first of all the Scribes of the northern districts, deliberated most carefully and arrived at a firm and definite conclusion as to the attitude to be assumed towards the newly-risen Teacher of peculiar ways.[1] We should draw a fundamentally false picture of the first ministry of Jesus if we exhibited him as meeting with a direct antagonism at the very beginning, as if he and the Scribes had at once closed in a struggle for life or death, a picture which, however, is found at present in the early groups of controversies in the later Gospels in particular, and in the Sermon on the Mount of the first Gospel, since these authors, in a way which we can easily understand, under the influence of the vivid consciousness of the catastrophe of Jesus, transferred the end to the beginning.[2] The best attested utterances of Jesus, however, and the best attested facts, show that it was otherwise. Yet it was not from inherited devotion, nor was it from timid prudence, that Jesus at first spared the hierarchy. He was conscious of the antagonism, and only because he was conscious of it did he fearlessly stand forth as teacher. But he had in view all Israel, and his aim was preservation, not destruction. Hence he claimed a right to say, "He who is not with me is against me,"

[1] The family, Matt. xii. 49, xiii. 57. Galilean Scribes, ix. 3, 11, 34, xii. 2, 14, 24; comp. Luke v. 17; Mark ii. 6, 16, iii. 6. Jerusalemitic Scribes, Matt. xv. 1. Luke introduces them as early as v. 17, Mark as early as iii. 22.

[2] Polemics in the hearing of the people, in Matt. as early as v. 20 sqq., vi. 1 sqq. Luke and Mark give controversies with the Scribes at the very beginning, in a series of five conflicts, Luke v. 17—vi. 11; Mark ii. 1—iii. 6; Matt. somewhat later, ix. 1—17, and still later and more dispersed, xii. 1 sq. The sources of the Gospels, already possessed—as the artificial composition of Matt. proves—the following arrangement: controversy (1) on blasphemy, (2) concerning the publicans, (3) on fasting. To these Luke and Mark immediately add the two Sabbath controversies, which Matt. does not give until chap. xii., where he makes them a part of the quaternion containing the controversy on Beelzebub and that on signs. The controversy on fasting and the second on the Sabbath at least did not occur until later; the first Sabbath controversy, however, was early.

a claim in which the striving after universal recognition occupied a prominent position; hence he later accepted with resignation, as willed and brought about by God, the inability of the wise and prudent to come to the faith; hence he sorrowfully and bitterly reproached the Scribes and Pharisees with believing neither on the Baptist nor on him, with refusing themselves to enter into the kingdom of God and hindering others from entering.[1] He moderated the severity of his attitude towards his opponents in proportion to the vividness with which he entertained the above sentiments. He did not open his appeal, like the boisterous and violently irruptive Baptist, with "serpents and generations of vipers." He did not at once open among the people his attack upon the ordinances of the Scribes. He placed first the doctrines of the kingdom of God and of righteousness, of Moses and the Prophets, of the love of God and of one's neighbour, doctrines which Pharisaism also believed. In his private communications to his disciples, he imposed upon himself moderation, notwithstanding his decisive antagonism. He did not avoid, he rather sought, intercourse with the teachers. Indeed, he at first met their attacks with all forbearance, though with a superiority which left them without an answer. He attached great importance to attracting them to himself by friendliness and by unreserved information concerning his person and his cause, both for the sake of the people and also for the sake of themselves.[2] He held it intrinsically possible that they, recognizing the kingdom of God, should consent to a reformation of their ordinances in the sense of the word of God; and he could believe that their honourable and weighty position as interpreters of Moses, and counsellors and teachers of the people, might then be preserved to them.[3] And it seemed as if in such a way, despite his self-education and independence of the schools, despite his being a follower of the Baptist, despite his new spirit,

[1] Matt. xii. 30, xi. 26, xxi. 32, xxiii. 13.

[2] Openness, Matt. ix. 6, 12, xii. 3 sqq.

[3] Matt. xxiii. 2. Thus also Schleiermacher, pp. 373, 384.

he would be able to overcome contradiction and to gain his opponents. Individual Scribes passed over to him and identified themselves directly with his followers,—an extraordinary testimony to the man who belonged to none of the schools, and was an opponent of the ordinances. Others meditated joining him; while yet others, including the leaders of the Pharisees and the rulers of the synagogue at Capernaum, established relations with him, listened to him, discussed his teaching among themselves, raised modest objections, and invited Jesus to their houses and to their tables. Jesus was recognized as an ardent friend of the nation, and no one refused to give him the name of Teacher, the title of Rabbi.[1] But the movement in favour of a coalition gradually came to a standstill, in proportion as the party of the Scribes came more closely into contact with him and observed him more attentively, and in proportion as he revealed himself in questions in which the veiling of his peculiarity, of his antagonism, would be a veiling of the truth.[2] A series of collisions issued in open antagonism; a series of open antagonisms awoke both parties to a clearer and clearer consciousness of principles which could not be renounced, which must be upheld and fought for. It is important here to remember once more that the Sermon on the Mount does not form the starting-point of these conflicts. The vigorous attacks which in that sermon Jesus makes upon his opponents, are themselves the fruit of many previous collisions; they are moreover not immediately addressed to the opponents, but only to the disciples. It is also evident that the opponents themselves, the Scribes, gradually arrived at a consciousness and a practical recognition of the antagonism, not through the great polemics of Jesus, which made

[1] Matt. viii. 19, xvii. 10, xix. 16; Mark xii. 28 (Matt. xxii. 35). But the Scribes of the Pharisees, in Mark ii. 15 sq., do not (as Volkmar thinks, p. 152) belong to the "followers;" they were present only as spies, as the context shows. Invitations, particularly Luke vii. 36, xi. 37, xiv. 1. Rulers, Luke xiv. 1; Matt. xii. 27, xv. 1. Title, Matt. viii. 19, ix. 11. Sometimes also no title, only "thou" or "this man," Matt. ix. 3, xv. 2; Luke vii. 39. Friend of the nation, Matt. xxii. 16.

[2] Matt. xii. 10; Luke vi. 7, &c.

petty polemics superfluous, but in consequence of the smaller and individual collisions in the accidents of daily life. These "isolated prior events" are denied only by the wildest criticism.[1]

Jesus' collection of his disciples led to a collision which can be shown to be one of the earliest. In particular, his fraternization with publicans and sinners, openly avowed as resting upon principle, and honoured with a festival on the occasion of his calling the publican, scandalized the consciousness of the saints, and even outbade the teaching and practice of the Baptist.[2] Pharisaism also called itself a friend of the people, a restorer of national holiness, and thus a preparer of the way for the kingdom of God. But since Pharisaism did not measure men by the heart, but only by the external performance, by activity in divine ceremonials, by levitical purity, it found in publicans and sinners, with their dissolute lives, nothing but uncleanness; it avoided, as the pure, that which was impure, and abandoned the people, whom it wished to save but whom it could not touch, to their misery and curse.[3] These reformers of the people lay too far apart for one to be able to win over the other. The Pharisees who stealthily followed Jesus among his adherents, therefore looked on with abhorrence when Jesus, in his house at Capernaum—"in the house of the man raised from the dead," according to Volkmar—reclined at table with a number of such

[1] Volkmar, pp. 155, 192, 196.

[2] Erroneously assuming that the publicans were Gentiles (on the contrary also, Wies. *Beitr.* p. 79), Hilg. and Volkmar have attacked the narrative. Hilg., p. 392, sees an "addition" of the Evangelist (he rejects the calling of Thomas on the same ground!) also in the house of Jesus (against viii. 20). According to Volkmar, p. 146 (but comp. Hilg. pp. 392 sq.), "the Pauline writer" meant only such an eating with "Gentiles" as is described in Gal. ii. 12, it being to him a matter of indifference whether Jesus ate with such or not. The Pharisaically-minded are Christians like those in Antioch, p. 150.

[3] See above, Vol. I. pp. 333, 344. Comp. *Bab. Shabb.* f. 13, 1: vide, quousque se extendit *puritas* israelitica! *Sok. Gen.* f. 50: exinde discimus, quod nemo hospitem in domum s. recipere debeat, si ipsum suspectum habet, quod peccator sit. Lightfoot, p. 282. Schöttgen, pp. 93, 275: non permittebat se tangi a populis terræ. As the Essenes believed themselves to be rendered unclean by ordinary intercourse with each other (see above, Vol. I. pp. 375 sq.), so did also the Pharisees. Comp. Lipsius, article *Essaër* in *Bibel-Lexikon*, II. p. 182.

sinners. And to this first shock there followed another. Jesus here and on other occasions ate and drank cheerfully with the cheerful, without any moroseness, without any repudiation of the world, and left abstinence from flesh and wine to the old teachers of the Law. It is true they had not quite courage enough to express their surprise to him; but they asked the disciples, "Why does your Master eat with publicans and sinners?"[1] With a dignified calm, he repulsed the fault-finders: "The strong need not the physician, but the sick; but go ye and learn what this is, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice;' for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners!" A glorious utterance, in which he claimed as his specific field of action the province of sickness, of sin, declared mercy towards men to be the higher prophetic rule above all external religious services, and put his opponents to the blush by repudiating the unlovingness that was associated with vain ceremonial saintliness, and also—implicitly at least—the empty boastful pretension to righteousness.[2] But his victory helped him little against the blindness of prejudice; the malicious epithets—a glutton and a winebibber, a companion of publicans and sinners—clung to him still, and penetrated from the Pharisees among the people.[3]

The Pharisees regarded the mere intercourse with publicans and sinners as a breach of the ordinances: Jesus did not observe the law of purity. But it was easy for them to establish, in a

[1] Matt. ix. 10 sqq.; Luke v. 29; Mark ii. 15. According to Matt. and Mark, it is the house of Jesus (Beng., Fr., Berl., Bleek, Mey., Hilg.); on the contrary (De Wette also), the house of the publican is usually thought of, after Luke. How much confusion! Even Hilg. finds the house of the publican in Mark, and Volkmar derides Matthew for obscurity, because instead of οἰκ. αὐτοῦ he gives only o. That the presence of the Pharisees—to which Mark (oldest reading) gives especial prominence—was not an act of discipleship is shown (against Volkmar) by ver. 16. Volk., with fresh derision of Matt., finds it indeed impossible that the Pharisees could have otherwise been aware of the feast (p. 166). He holds also that Matt. has omitted the drinking of Jesus (Mark ii. 16), as if that were not an easy addition of Mark's.

[2] On the "righteous," see above, p. 98. Luke, v. 32 (differing from Matt. and Mark), has the addition: to repentance. The passage from the prophets, Hosea vi. 6 (plainly according to the Septuagint: contrary to Hilg. p. 394). Go ye and learn, abi et disce, also by the Rabbis. Schöttgen, p. 94.

[3] Matt. xi. 19.

number of points, his disregard of the Law, even of the written letter of Moses. The chief offence was given by a second liberty taken by Jesus, which again was the outcome of his humanity. In the interest of human necessity, he did not scruple to mitigate the harsh and burdensome severity of the Sabbath law, with its prohibition of all labour whatever.[1] It is well known how scrupulously, how sternly, the Jews, especially the Pharisees, upheld the honour of the day which was said to have been solemnized by Adam, although they expressly elevated it into the weekly day of enjoyment; how, under the ridicule of the Gentiles, they lost battles and repeatedly lost Jerusalem when besieged, through their Sabbath rest; how they restricted the movements of men, even necessary works of all kinds, to the most meagre and ludicrous limits, although a sound understanding at least so far broke through as to permit the saving of life on the Sabbath.[2] At the time when the wheat was ripe, therefore at Easter or between Easter and Whitsuntide, certainly in the first months of his ministry, Jesus went through the cornfields.[3] The distance itself gave no occasion for complaint, and

[1] Ex. xx. 10: lo asa kol melachah (repeated). Above, Vol. I. p. 38, reference is made to an apocryphal passage, according to which Jesus himself permitted field-work on the Sabbath.

[2] Vocabis Sabb. oblectamentum. Lautius est convivandum sabbato quam diebus aliis. Men must eat three times, even the poor. Triple eating frees from the dolores Messiæ. Jewish glosses on Is. lviii. 13. Lightfoot, p. 319. The prohibitions, particularly in the Talmud, Tractate *Shabbat;* comp. f. 12, 1: qui pediculum occidit sabb., idem est ac si occideret camelum. *Nedar.* f. 31, 2: sabb. ad præcepta gravia pertinet. Schöttgen, p. 185. Nemo consolatur ægrotos aut invisit lugentes die sabb. ex decreto scholæ Shammæanæ, sed Hilleliana illud licitum perhibet. Schöttgen, pp. 120, 123. Comp. above, Vol. I. pp. 351 sq., 371. Conservatio vitæ sabb. pellit. Schöttgen, p. 122.

[3] Matt. xii. 1; Luke vi. 1; Mark ii. 23. In Luke, at least in the majority of the MSS., the Sabbath is called *δευτεροπρωτον*. Lachmann and Tischendorf questioned the word as an addition; but in his eighth critical edition, Tisch. has definitively admitted it as the more difficult reading. But the word is wanting in Sin., Vat., Reg., It., Vg., al. vers.; and notwithstanding numerous attempts to explain it, it remains unexplained, and has not been found elsewhere, either in Greek, or Hebrew, or in the Talmud. The most probable interpretation since Scaliger, is "the first Sabbath after the second day of Easter," from which second day (*Strom.* 6, 5. 41) seven Sabbaths were reckoned until Whitsuntide (also Ewald, p. 380). Wetstein: the first Sabbath in the second month. Weizsäcker: the first Sabbath in the second year

therefore could scarcely have exceeded the length of the "Sabbath-day's journey," 2000 paces, or a short half a league, which might have been sufficient to take him to the next village.[1] But the Pharisees complained of work on the Sabbath, for the disciples, who had already outgrown their scruples, had broken off ears of corn—which was in other circumstances permitted to hungry men—and had rubbed them with their hands in order to appease with the grains the hunger which the Sabbath custom had itself kept a long time unsatisfied.[2] According to the altogether mistaken and extraordinary opinion of Mark, to whom the traditional breach of the Sabbath was far too trifling, Jesus had wandered out of the path into the corn, and the disciples had cleared the way by plucking the ears and had thus made a path.[3] The crime was openly committed; hence the objectors hastened, without fear, horrified and enraged, to Jesus himself, and complained of the disciples who were probably held to have rendered themselves guilty of death by stoning.[4] But the head of the household screened his household; Jesus was remarkably prompt with his answer, the more remarkably so because in this matter, which required an arbitrarily free and broad interpreta-

(cycle of the Sabbatic year). Meyer, De Wette, and Bleek, regard it as a late gloss. Comp. Bleek, I. p. 469. Hilg. *Quartodec.*, in *Zeitschrift*, 1861, p. 289. Wieseler, *Beitr.* p. 183.

[1] Sabbath-day's journey, Acts i. 12. Talmud, techum (terminus) hashabb; comp. Tract. *Erubin*, c. 4. See Lightfoot, pp. 688, 753. Bux. 2582. Winer, *Sabbatweg.*

[2] Plucking the ears no theft, Deut. xxiii. 25 sq. At present, the custom in the East, Robinson, *Palestina*, II. pp. 419, 430. Bleek, p. 471. Rubbing the ears, Luke vi. 1. On the Sabbath, no one ate until after the *preces matut.* (about 3 p.m.), Lightfoot, p. 320.

[3] Opening a way is the only correct translation (comp. Fr., Meyer, Volkm., Bleek). Bleek (p. 472) assumes a want of exactness of expression on the part of the author. One might, if necessary, suppose that the author had unskilfully rendered the Heb. asah derech (Judges xvii. 8) by ποιεῖν instead of ποιεῖσθαι. Private and public ways through the crops, Lightfoot, p. 320.

[4] In Maimonides, *Shabb.* c. 8, the definite maxim is first found: metens sabb. vel tantillum reus est. Et vellere spicas est species messionis. But this was quite in harmony with the spirit of the system; it was forbidden to eat even the fruit that fell from the trees on the Sabbath. Lightfoot, pp. 206, 320. According to Matt. and Mark, the Pharisees complain to Jesus of the disciples; on the contrary, Luke vi. 2, "Why do *ye*?" &c.

tion of the Law, and which arose out of a case of special character, he could scarcely have been prepared with a legal justification. He chose to address himself immediately to the prejudice of his opponents, and to contradict that prejudice not so much by general reasons, as directly by a written instance. Thus he pointed out to them, from the Old Testament, that even David, the great king—to whose example Rabbinism always readily appealed—with his retinue, in the extremity of hunger, ate what was not lawful, since he ate, according to all evidences on the Sabbath, the shewbread of the priests. Indeed, while thinking of the priests, Jesus quickly and fortunately remembered a second example, and one which was an unquestionable and immediately pertinent case of working on the Sabbath: the priests themselves performed on the Sabbath the labour necessary to the offering up of the sacrifices, and yet they neither broke the Sabbath nor incurred any guilt.[1] In both examples, he allowed it to be seen that he was as great as and even greater than David and the priests. In fact he expressly added: If the priests have a dispensation because of their connection with the temple, here is something greater than the temple, a higher dispensator for the disciples than the temple is for the priests.[2] With a view to the learned among the nation, but also with a view to the attack upon him, he alludes mysteriously to his Messiahship. In this

[1] Examples of David, also, for the Sabbath, Schöttgen, pp. 121, 123. The above-mentioned case, 1 Sam. xxi. 1 sq. But the Evangelists err in speaking of an entering into the house of God and of a company of men with David, which David only pretended to be the case. Mark errs, moreover, in mentioning the high-priest Abiathar, whereas it was his father, the "priest" Ahimelech. Ahim. was killed by Saul because of this occurrence, while his son Abiathar escaped and was afterwards high-priest under David. The *first* example is not quoted by Jesus himself as an instance of something done on the Sabbath, though the Rabbis, guided by allusions in the passage itself, 1 Sam. xxi. 6 sq., rightly held it as an instance of eating on the Sabbath. Lightfoot, pp. 329 sq. The *second* example of the priests, comp. Maimonides, *Pesach.* 1: non est sabbatismus in templo omnino. Lightfoot, p. 321. The Hebrew expression for breaking the Sabbath is chillel, pellere, impellere s. Schöttgen, pp. 120 sqq. The example of Hillel, see above, Vol. I. p. 343; Geiger, *Sadd. u. Phar.* 1863, p. 36.

[2] A greater thing (not a greater person). But the greater thing is He, not, according to Paulus, the life of the disciples.

turn of his answer lay at the same time a characteristic distinction between his argument and that of Hillel to which the great Pharisee owed his fame. The right of the people to break the Sabbath when the day for the slaying of the Paschal lamb coincided with the Sabbath, had been defended by Hillel by a reference to the priests who themselves also slew the sacrifices. The cogency of this argument depended upon the original sacerdotal right of the people; but that of Jesus' argument upon his own personal elevation.[1] Jesus might have been acquainted with Hillel's much-admired argument; but his own was more startling, more spirited, more profound. After this more technical argument, this emulation of Jewish scriptural erudition, he turned to his simplest and favourite argument, which was successful in the controversy concerning the publicans: A true understanding of the words of Hosea, "I require mercy and not sacrifice," would have prevented you from condemning the innocent, those who were no more guilty than the priests.[2] But in order to complete the proof of the guiltlessness of his clients as well as the proof of his personal right, he closed with the most weighty passage: "For the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath." To his own personal dignity, which he even here rather alluded to than described, belonged through God's grace authority over the Sabbath, despite any prohibition of the guardians of the Law, although he also—as the context itself shows—did not thus abrogate the Law, but only interpreted it in a befitting way.[3] He threw out a world of thoughts in these suggestive and pithy utterances: no wonder that the later Evangelists, in the face of this genuine, faithful, compact report of Matthew's, have re-

[1] Geiger, *l. c.*

[2] Hosea vi. 6; comp. Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7. According to Hilg. (p. 410), this is an interpolation: as if the easiest text were the best, and as if the conceptions, sacrifice (priests) and guiltlessness, would not stand in the best connection with the foregoing.

[3] The sentence reminds us of Matt. v. 17 sqq. Comp. the utterances of the Rabbis concerning the nova lex Messiæ, above, p. 297, note 3. Nothing is anywhere said of the end of the Sabbath, only of the end of the festivals, with exception of the day of atonement. Comp. Oehler, *Mess.* p. 441; also the sentence of R. Elieser: septimus totus est sabbatum et quies ad vit. æt. Schöttgen, p. 941.

lieved, for themselves and their readers, this difficult brevity by curtailments and elucidations.[1] But they all agree in this, viz., that the Pharisees turned away with enforced silence from this weighty and unanswerable brevity, which they understood and yet did not understand.

A third conflict was occasioned in the series of healings by Jesus' forgiveness of the sins of the paralytic.[2] In this act, Jesus' opponents found his most flagrant breach of the Law. Here he had done violence not only to their regulations, but to the letter of the Law; not only to a divine ordinance, but to the personal majesty, the sovereign prerogative, of God. In a word, he had sinned not only against the Law, out of ignorance or indifference, but, with a horrible self-assertion, against God. It seemed to dart upon them like a light, that the principle upon which he as transgressor of the Law acted, was contempt of God, blasphemy against God, heathen denial of God, a crime in Israel for which there was no penalty short of the destruction of the criminal.[3] So near an approach was already made to the execution of the Law upon the offender against whom a year later the general cry was raised at Jerusalem, He is worthy of death! That the catastrophe was so long delayed was due not only to the independence of Galilee and its sympathy with Jesus, nor to the circumspection of the opponents, but to that greatness of Jesus

[1] Luke has only the example of David, and then the passage about the Lord of the Sabbath. Mark has introduced, before the latter passage, the rationalistic turn of thought that the Sabbath is for man and not man for the Sabbath, *therefore* the Son of man, &c. The example of the Sabbath-breaking priests, and the passage concerning the greater thing than the temple, are wanting in both. Here also it is easy to give the precedence as to age (comp. Volkmar, pp. 203 sq., and partly even Bleek, p. 476) to the briefer and the plainly rational and even directly contradictory to Exod. xx. 8 (although full of significance, especially with regard to the relation between men and the Son of Man). But Matt. is more difficult, more obscure, therefore older; and the subsequent writers modified the Jewish examples which could not be appropriately placed before their readers, at least after the destruction of Jerusalem. The special unskilfulnes of Mark, see above, Vol. I. pp. 134 sq.

[2] Matt. ix. 1; Luke v. 18; Mark ii. 3. Comp. above, pp. 213 sqq.

[3] Lev. xxiv. 16. Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 8, 6. Comp. the scene in Matt. xxvi. 65.

which presented an attitude of respectful inaction to every attempt to use force, the turbulent prosecution of which Jewish fanaticism appeared to insist upon. Exactly here is the fact significative, that the opponents did not address their reproach—which otherwise would have sounded loudly enough—either to himself or to the people, but only whispered it among themselves. Jesus did not answer in words; he did not appeal to proclamations of blessings and of curses by Moses, the priests, and the prophets, in the name of God; he did not appeal to the vocation of the man of the future, the representative of the Divine compassion, to proclaim peace and salvation and spiritual healing. Jesus answered this time with a deed; and none of his adversaries could say anything against his proof that walked about among the rejoicings of the people, his proof that the Son of Man—an expression which he presented afresh to his antagonists as implying superior pretensions—possessed authority to forgive sins upon earth, even as he possessed authority to make the lame to walk, an evidence of power with which the Pharisaic theory of the connection between sin and physical evil fundamentally harmonized.[1]

This Pharisaic opposition, however, was no serious menace to the activity of Jesus. It was as yet only in its commencement; it was marked by moderation and reserve; and, as may be easily seen, contrary to the usual character of Oriental passion, it was measured in its opening and its close, for the feud ended in silence, without a hasty harsh word, without one excited apostrophe. It did not absolutely preclude fresh conversations, fresh explanations, visits, invitations, and conversions. And though with many persons a certain system of watchful lying in wait now developed itself, the question on the whole remained undecided, and Jesus himself did not show—as he did later—by

[1] Blessing and cursing, Deut. xxviii. 15; Lev. xxvi. 16; 2 Sam. xii. 13; Is. xl. 2. According to the Rabbis themselves, Mess. misericordiam impetrat, intercedit pro. Isr. Schöttgen, p. 1055. The theory, *Nedar.* f. 41, 1: nullus ægrotus a morbo suo sanatur, donec ipsi omnia peccata remissa sint. Schöttgen, p. 93.

a single word that he despaired of winning his opponents.[1] In fact, the opposing voices were scarcely audible in the midst of the louder and preponderant sympathy of the people. For it is incontrovertible that Jesus was at first essentially satisfied with his success, in evidence of which we need only repeat the words he uttered a little later in his native town: A prophet has honour everywhere, except in his home and in his own house.[2] With a longing anticipation of a still greater development of his ministry, he on his part made preparations to gather in and store up the harvest which he expected, and which spread out already ripe before him. In view of all the faith, indeed also of all the want, which met him from Israel, the exhausted and plundered flock without a shepherd, he spoke to his disciples the solemn words, "The harvest is great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He thrust forth labourers into His harvest."[3]

B.—The Election of the Twelve.

But he did not confine himself to a believing glance, or a sigh lifted towards heaven; he at the same time quickly added vigorous action. He did what he could with the means he had: he chose the messengers of his mission and sent them forth, hoping for the harvest of the kingdom of heaven, which had to him the significance of a prelude to the last great universal harvest of God. Looking beyond his own person to the minds and hands which mankind placed at his disposal, it was only in the circle of his disciples that he could seek his instruments, the reapers of

[1] Comp. above, p. 136, note 1, Hausrath's erroneous opinion. Inimical watching, Matt. xii. 10; Luke vi. 7.

[2] Matt. xiii. 57.

[3] Matt. ix. 36—38. In Luke x. 2, placed at the beginning of the unhistorical account of the seventy. The picture of the flock without a shepherd, Num. xxvii. 17 (when Joshua was chosen as Moses' successor). Also 1 Kings xxii. 17. Under labourers, Jesus did not understand himself alone, but by anticipation the Twelve, who were not sufficient for the harvest.

the kingdom of heaven.[1] The first fruits of his harvest, his first sheaf, the pattern community which he had trained in order that they, in harmlessly growing rather than in actually working, might praise the Father in heaven by their virtues—this pattern community he now thrust, like a good husbandman, into his pressing work, converted the ears into sickles, and resolved to believe in their power to reap, although they, as weak, rather pliant than steeled, beginners in speaking, acting, and healing, had by no means outgrown his teaching or his guidance. But since necessity urged—for the kingdom of God was being rapidly brought near both by God and men—hesitation must give way to hope.

All accounts agree in this, that Jesus, in the course of his ministry, chose twelve of his disciples to be apostles. The designation is a matter that requires no special treatment. It is Greek, and was not used by Jesus; it is simply the translation of the Hebrew word Malachim, Sheluchim, the sent, messengers, which, according to all evidences, he used, on which account all our sources employ the word Apostle quite in the sense of an official designation, Luke indeed expressly adding, "He chose from them Twelve, whom he also called Apostles."[2] It is a

[1] According to Ewald (p. 387), the choosing of the Twelve signified in the first instance only a small sympathetic circle; but against this, the number twelve and Matt. ix. 37. According to Weisse (p. 404), the mission was rather for the purpose of training the Apostles than for serious propagandism.

[2] In Matt. only x. 2, comp. verse 1, Mark vi. 30 (thus both times in the account of the special sending forth). Luke vi. 13; comp. John xiii. 16, general and contemporary with the act of choosing, the designation mentioned even by Jesus. ἀπόστολος as early as Herodotus, 1, 21; 5, 38, of any one sent (ἄγγελος, Herod. 5, 36; Luke ix. 52), Hebr. shaluach, Rabb. sheliach, plur. shelichin, 1 Kings xiv. 6. In the Chald. Paraphr. Jer. xi. 1, Moses and Aaron are shelichin, Lightfoot, p. 312. In general sense, 2 Cor. viii. 23 (apostles of the churches); also Phil. ii. 25. In narrower sense, of Christian messengers and teachers, besides the twelve Apostles, Acts xiv. 14. Jesus himself an Apostle, Heb. iii. 1. Paul claimed for himself and Barnabas an apostleship equal to that of the Twelve, 1 Cor. ix. 5, comp. Acts xiv. 14. Paul explains the conception (Gal. ii. 7—9; 1 Cor. ix. 14) = preacher of the gospel. With the minister of the synagogue (sheliach zibbur, Buxt. 1411) the name Apostle has nothing to do (*Hausr.* p. 489). Schleiermacher's supposition (*Luk.* p. 87) that the name was probably later, Strauss (I. p. 617) has already refuted. It lies in Matt. x. 5—7, 16, xxiii. 37.

matter of greater moment, that it might be supposed the name and the office of Apostle were the fruit of the apostolic period, that the most prominent disciples of Jesus received the distinction of this honourable name—which, according to many indications, was first given to them by others—on the ground of their being commissioned by Jesus to perform missionary work, or perhaps on account of what they actually accomplished; for it is a fact that the Evangelists plainly look beyond the earthly life of Jesus, and Matthew especially has in mind the picture of Moses who, at his departure, appointed Joshua as his representative.[1] Against this, not only is the testimony of the Gospels and of the Acts decisive, but almost more so that of Paul. He distinctly takes it for granted that Jesus, during his ministry, had twelve Apostles about him, that he had given and had up to that time preserved to them rights and privileges in the community; and he himself is at great pains to defend against them his claim to have been also called an Apostle of Jesus Christ, not it is true by the earthly, but by the glorified Jesus. The Revelation of John, which is almost equally ancient, affords the same result,

[1] In Matt. ix. 36 sqq., the writer is evidently thinking of Num. xxvii. 17 (Moses and Joshua). According to Volkmar (pp. 223 sqq.), everything that is reported concerning the election on "the hill of the resurrection" (!) is only poetry (based on Ex. xviii. 1). He further says that, according to Mark, Jesus first chose a wider (iii. 13), then a narrower (verse 14), circle, to minister among Jews and Gentiles (vv. 8, 15), so that a Paul, &c., might have arisen out of the wider circle. Also that no support can be found for an election of Apostles (p. 254) either in Paul's writings (1 Cor. ix. 5, 14, xii. 28, xv. 5; Gal. i. 17 sqq.), or in the Revelations (xxi. 14); and that Schleiermacher's doubt is quite justified. The Apostles' names are not once satisfactorily given, Matthew and Matthias are identical, and Philip is called sometimes apostle and sometimes deacon (which is false). He says that only three are certainly furnished with the designation Apostle (Simon and the sons of Zebedee), the others having passed simply as zealous Christians. He puts aside altogether the historical testimony of Paul (pp. 254, 566), who belonged to the natures which are absolutely unable to report objectively!—As to Schleiermacher's scepticism with regard to the twelve Apostles (the number of which, at any rate, he holds to be quite accidental), it rests rather on dogmatic than critical grounds. *Ueber Luk.* p. 88; *L. J.* pp. 365 sqq. He considers the reference to the twelve tribes too Jewish, the order too mechanical, the choice of Judas in particular impossible. It was free elective affinity, with more or less co-operation on the part of Jesus.

except that, as a distinctively Jewish-Christian book, it refuses to admit Paul's claim to be an Apostle.[1] The number twelve—which is not, with Schleiermacher, to be regarded as altogether accidental—was certainly not fixed upon by Jesus merely because it was a round number and a favourite Hebrew number, nor because he could obtain only this dozen as his "few labourers." But we discover from the missionary address, which points the Twelve to Israel and to all Israel, as well as from the later mention of the twelve thrones of the judgment upon Israel, and also from the conception of the Revelation of John, that there underlay the choice of the number twelve a figurative reference to the twelve tribes of Israel, though those twelve tribes had long ceased to exist in their genealogical separateness.[2] There is no basis for the supposition that the Baptist, in so many respects the prototype of Jesus, had also seized upon this number in his efforts to restore Israel, for John never sent out messengers. An ingenious but fanciful myth of the second century gave to Jesus, as the sun of the God-pleasing year, twelve disciples; on the other hand, to the Baptist, as the moon, thirty.[3] The transition from the fluctuating beginning in the sending out of individuals to the fixedness of the number twelve, and from the figurative sense of that number to the privileged character of a definitely limited circle, was probably due to the fact that to the Twelve, who soon after found themselves almost exclusively the only persons that persisted in following Jesus, there were added no "fresh labourers" worth mentioning, such as Jesus

[1] See the preceding note. Also 1 Cor. ix. 1 sqq.; Rev. ii. 2, comp. xxi. 14; Acts i. 21 sqq.

[2] Matt. x. 6, xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30; Rev. xxi. 12, 14. These passages, as well as Ezra vi. 17, comp. Acts xxvi. 7, James i. 1, refute the opinion of Schleiermacher that the twelve tribes had no significance at all after the exile (p. 371). The number twelve, in the case of messengers, also Josephus, *Vita*, 11 (twelve and seventy), *B. J.* 2, 14, 5. In a different way, Matt. ix. 20; Luke viii. 42 sq. The reference to the twelve tribes specially definite in Barn. 8; comp. Gospel of the Ebionites in Epiph. 30, 13. The licentiously symbolizing view could also find another reference of the twelve to Elisha's twelve yoke of oxen, 1 Kings xix. 19!

[3] Clem. *Hom.* 2, 33; *Recogn.* 4, 35.

had originally desired, until after the ascension, when some were found in Paul and his companions.

The accounts are very much divided as to point of time when, and the circumstances under which, Jesus chose the Twelve. Paul and the other oldest sources give us here no information. At the same time, the oldest Gospel decidedly favours the contemporaneousness of the election and the sending forth, and also a somewhat late period for these events. It is true that the sending forth opens with Jesus' calling to himself "the twelve Apostles," so that it would appear as if their selection had already taken place; but all that follows—the then first mention of the twelve names, the setting forth of their vocation, their commission, and their equipment, and the introduction of their then commencing mission with the express words, "These twelve Jesus sent forth"—all this shows most plainly that the twelve Apostles had not as such before existed, but were at that time just beginning to exist.[1] It was, however, easy for the later Gospels to fall here into a misunderstanding. They followed the guidance of several appearances and of the desire of a later time, and placed the apostolate of the Twelve as early as possible, and where they could they represented it as doubly or trebly ordained. Thus arose the representation of Luke and Mark, according to which Jesus early selected the Twelve, but later solemnly sent them forth.[2] From this it was but a short step

[1] Matt. x. 1 speaks of the twelve later disciples, apostles, just as proleptically as x. 2, iv. 18, viii. 14 of Peter (xvi. 18). That the Twelve, as a closed circle, had not hitherto existed, is clear as well from ix. 37 (indefinitely disciples, the wider circle, as v. 1), as from the stress now first laid on the number twelve, x. 2, 5, xi. 1. The later Evangelists err in assuming a previous election. On the other hand, Volkmar (p. 243) is ready with the remark that the institution of the Twelve was not known to the good Jewish-Christian Matthew. And Strauss (I. p. 614) also erred in thinking that Matthew assumed the existence of the College of Apostles. But he is correct in his remarks on the speculations in an obscure province made by Matthew's successors.

[2] Luke vi. 13, ix. 1; Mark iii. 13, 14, vi. 7. Their dependence upon Matt. can be seen even in minutiæ. The mysterious vocation in Mark iii. 13 is based upon Jesus' calling the Twelve to himself, in Matt. x. 1. The night of prayer in Luke is based upon the injunction to pray in Matt. ix. 38. A very high conception of the apostolate is already seen in Acts i. 17, 20.

to the representation of the fourth Gospel—which was also preceded and in part suggested by that of the Acts—according to which Jesus chose the Apostles from the very beginning in the wilderness of John.[1] This series of accounts shows the historical starting-point and the unhistorical terminus. The election of the Apostles fell later than it is said to have done in the more recent Gospels; and it occurred without any display at the time of the sending forth of the Apostles, which sending forth appears in the later Gospels as a second and distinct event. The proof of the correctness of this exposition is found at once in the greater unostentation and simplicity of Matthew's manner of narrating the circumstance, and in the strong improbability that Jesus would choose Apostles, i. e. men sent, a considerable time before he sent them forth, which would have compelled us to believe that he took delight in and had time for far-seeing prospective nominations. Mark has very distinctly recognized this great improbability, by setting forth as the purpose of the election of the Apostles, "that he might send them forth." And when he at the same time again loses sight of this improbability, by representing the first purpose of the choosing to be Jesus' desire to ensure a permanent environment of followers, he has left it difficult to discover in what way this environment is to be distinguished from the already existing environment of disciples. And when he has, finally, at the election of the Twelve and again at the sending of them forth, mentioned the power over evil spirits as a concomitant gift from Jesus, it is easy to perceive that the one or the other impartation of that power—particularly, perhaps, the first—is altogether superfluous, or more correctly, that the first is in fact the same as the second, that election and sending forth therefore coincided, and that Mark himself was unable to make a clean separation of the two acts, because they happened together.[2] In one point he has, however, been more fortunate than his predecessor and companion, Luke. The latter, knowing of both an election and a sending forth of

[1] John i. 35 sqq., vi. 70; Acts i. 21 sq.

[2] Mark iii. 13, 14, vi. 7.

the Apostles, has given with each act an address. But the address he has attached to the act of election is that Sermon on the Mount which—as we have seen—had simply nothing to do with an election of Apostles.[1] Mark has struck out the address, and the act of election has thereby become in subject-matter uncommonly meagre, and doubly so in contrast with its ceremonious formality; and since all necessity and significance are taken away, it is left as nothing more than an inexplicable, or more exactly an arbitrary mystery.[2]

Assuming, therefore, the election and the missionary address to have been contemporaneous, it remains—to say nothing at present of the actual reality of the sending forth—to inquire to which of the Gospels the preference is to be given with regard to the period of the delivery of the missionary address to the Apostles. As has been already noted, that address is given earlier by Matthew than by the others, towards the close of the first Galilean period. Luke and Mark postpone it until near the close of the final Galilean period, at the time of the execution of the Baptist, after the opening of the great conflicts and persecutions of Jesus, and almost immediately before his resolve to suffer. This latter date—which is still earlier than that given by John, who makes the missionary address coincide with the farewell address at Jerusalem—has plainly several things in its favour. The growing conflict, the fear of an imminent catastrophe, the recognition of the necessity of making an appearance in Judæa and at Jerusalem, might have induced Jesus to hasten the progress and to multiply the agents of the proclamation of

[1] See above, p. 19 sq. In the whole of Luke's Sermon on the Mount, which, however, is made to stand in close connection with the election of the Twelve, there is nothing more than a possible allusion to the apostolic vocation towards the close, vi. 39 sqq. Matt. might afford some help here with his Sermon on the Mount (v. 13 sqq.), but he makes no allusion to a mission, the disciples are only a body of virtuous men (v. 16). Not only Strauss (I. p. 614), but also Schleier. (*Ueber d. Luk.* p. 85), recognized the fact that Luke used the Sermon on the Mount as a sermon at the election of the Twelve.

[2] Mark iii. 13—19. According to Ewald, Holtzm., Schenkel, however, the original Mark contained the address.

the kingdom in Israel, and chiefly in the districts of Galilee, and thus himself to throw a deciding weight into the scales. On the other hand, there is much more force in the objection that Jesus' tone of mind when he sent forth the Twelve—particularly in Matthew, where the Lord is represented as looking upon the great harvest-field with lofty emotions; but also in Luke and Mark—is glad and hopeful. But that such could not have been the case at this late period, will appear certain when we recall the parables previously narrated in Luke and Mark, and when we think of his opponents' resolves to use force and to procure his death. The actual anxiety of Jesus at this late period, and his just then so visible seeking for support and comfort in the little circle of his confidential followers who had bound up their fate with his, make such an isolation of strength, such a separation of master from disciples, impossible.[1] Far more appropriate to this time are the words spoken by Jesus on his last evening, and preserved by Luke: Ye are they who "have continued" with me in my temptations.[2] Moreover, the missionary address evidently alludes to the Whitsuntide, three or four months after the commencement of Jesus' ministry, rather than either to the time of harvest or to the winter.[3] We forbear here to dwell upon a further reason, the watchword which Jesus gave to his Apostles, and which he adopted as the basis of his first, not of his last, period of ministry in Galilee.[4] But an end is made of all uncertainty as to the correct point of time by the discovery of the

[1] Hope, Matt. ix. 37, x. 5 sqq.; Luke ix. 1 sqq., x. 2; Mark vi. 7 sqq.

[2] Luke xxii. 28. Comp. Gethsemane, Matt. xxvi. 37.

[3] Matt. ix. 37 sq. In Luke x. 2, the figure of the harvest can as little remain unnoticed as the indications of spring in the Sermon on the Mount, or the signs of summer in the parables. Hilgenfeld, in bringing (1867, p. 398) the address of chap. x. into connection with chaps. xvi. and xxiii., does not separate between the kernel and its appendages. On the other hand, Holtzm., Schenkel, Hausr., Weizs., Weiff., relying on Mark and Luke, have placed the sending forth late. According to Schenkel (*Bibel-Lex.* III. p. 283), Jesus was moved to the mission by a presentiment of his death. According to Weizs. (p. 401), the election at least occurred before Jesus had lost faith in Israel.

[4] Matt. x. 7; Luke x. 9, comp. with Matt. xii. 28. This is not pressed, because the missionary address could, nay must, have made use of the initial cry.

special and essentially unhistorical motive which evidently led the Evangelist Luke to postpone the sending forth of the Twelve until the close of the Galilean ministry. It suited his purpose to represent the decidedly unhistorical sending forth of the assumed Seventy as following, in a conspicuous manner, that of the Twelve. He wished to throw into the shade the limited Israelitish mission of the Twelve by the philanthropic mission to the whole Gentile world; and he did this by giving to the sending forth of the Seventy larger proportions and greater success. Luke's purpose involved the bringing the mission of the Twelve as near as possible to that of the Seventy; and since he could not throw back the latter beyond Jesus' departure from Galilee and his journey through the semi-Gentile Samaria, he was compelled to place the mission of the Twelve at the close of the Galilean period. Mark has also admitted this correction of history, though he has not recognized the mission of the Seventy; but there exist the clearest evidences that in the whole of this group of events he has essentially followed Luke.[1]

The first Evangelist has refrained from describing the election of the Apostles, and justly, for he was not present and nothing definite is known about it. Hence he merely mentions that, in view of the sympathy as well as of the needs of the nation, Jesus called to himself the twelve disciples, and gave to them power over unclean spirits and over every disease: he is here hardly thinking of a mysterious handing over of powers and means, but rather of an impartation by word and appointment, such as he found related a moment after in the missionary address.[2] The great importance which the later narrators attached to the election of the Apostles, was naturally accompanied by the presentation to the reader of more exact and more

[1] Luke ix. 1 and x. 1. On Mark. comp. above, Vol. I. p. 123; also below.

[2] Matt. x. 1 and ix. 36—38, admirably placed at the close of the cycle of preaching and healing. x. 1 is explained by x. 8; but the question arises whether Jesus then first presented healing as a right and a gift. Paulus has spoken of a communication of medical knowledge, Ewald of an instruction in manipulation, and Weisse of an impartation of magnetic forces. Bleek (I. p. 409) adheres to the miraculous gift.

imposing details. According to Luke, therefore, Jesus spent the night in solitary prayer upon the mountain, and there gained inspiration for the election. At break of day, he called the whole company of the disciples to the mountain, and selected from them the Twelve. In the meantime, the population of the whole country had come together, affording in a certain sense a confirmation of the necessity of an election of Apostles. Jesus then addressed to the Apostles, the disciples, and the crowds of the people, the Sermon on the Mount, which, however, has here very little fitness. Mark, fond of explanatory details, has thought proper still further to elucidate this account. He has, therefore, represented the gathering together of the people as having already taken place—although this is quite inconceivable, since Jesus had just before escaped from the complot of the Pharisees and Herodians—and as having naturally suggested to Jesus the appointment of apostles. To the mountain, whither, with singular care for the people left to themselves, he had withdrawn, not exactly to pray, but rather to be quiet and to be undisturbed in his election, he called not the whole company of the disciples, but only the honoured Twelve, whom he requested to ascend the mountain. The act of election was to have been sealed, not by an address, but—as in the case of the call of the publican—by a friendly meal at Capernaum, only on account of a fresh concourse of people—one would have thought, on account of the plots of foes—this intention could not be carried out.[1] Luke's discarded mysteries are replaced by others, according to Mark's favourite manner. The call to come to Jesus on the mountain is mysterious. "He called to himself whom *he* would, and they came to him." Here is the description of the act of a sovereign and the obedience of subjects; and the passage gives the impression that Jesus called the disciples separately by name from the top of the hill, and that they separately

[1] Mark iii. 7 represents Jesus as having withdrawn from Capernaum to the sea, on account of the complot; but, as if nothing had happened, there is (1) immediately a great gathering of the people, (2) then eating again at Capernaum (verse 19).

went up to him. Then there is the giving of power over demons, one knows not how, perhaps imparted by contact; and there is also the giving of new names to Simon and to the sons of Zebedee, an act which proved at once his power and his omniscience, but which, according to credible accounts, belonged to a later period, and in the case of Peter was connected with the evidence he showed of his correct conception of Jesus at Cæsarea Philippi.[1] These mysteries were to have been brilliantly closed by a friendly meal. All these details are unhistorical; yet we must not—like Volkmar—regard either them or the history of the election of the Apostles in general as mythical fictions, after the pattern of the election of elders in the history of Moses.[2]

We renounce, therefore, this decoration of the narrative, and content ourselves with looking at the twelve Apostles themselves. Their names are to be found in not less than four lists: in Matthew, Luke, and Mark, in connection with the act of election; and in Luke's Acts of the Apostles at the beginning of the history of the church at Jerusalem. Finally, John also has introduced at least three-fourths of the names in a scattered manner. These lists, however, do not quite agree, either in the names or in the order.[3] Such a disagreement upon so important and well-known a subject might give rise to suscipion, and might suggest a doubt as to the actual occurrence of any election of Apostles. Yet it is impossible to overlook the fact that

[1] Comp. Matt. xvi. 18. Power over demons, in Matt. x. 8 (comp. xvi. 18), explained by the words of Jesus, but not in Mark. According to his manner in analogous cases, Mark will have formed a grosser conception of the impartation of the power. Peter, Mark iii. 16, evidently a grosser rendering of Luke vi. 14.

[2] As already before, Volkmar (pp. 228 sqq.) again brings in the Jethro incident, Ex. xviii. 1. As Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, comes to Moses with Moses' wife and two sons, finds him in the midst of excessive occupation, counsels him, in order not to wear himself away, to appoint assistants, judges of the people; so, in Mark iii. 21, come the mother of Jesus and his brethren, in order, certainly, to bind him as beside himself; but in this connection, at any rate, and under a similar pressure of the people, the election of the disciple-assistants is narrated. This is ingenious, but incorrect; the election, in particular, was quite independent of the coming of Jesus' relatives. Moreover, the persons in ver. 21 are not his relatives, as will be shown further on.

[3] Matt. x. 1; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13; John i. 35 sqq.

the agreement outweighs the disagreement, particularly in the names, and that the order of the names might easily vary.

The question of the names is the most important. And here there is in reality only one difference which at a first glance is surprising. One of the last Apostles is called in Matthew, Lebbæus; in Mark, Thaddæus, whom Eusebius would degrade to one of the seventy disciples; in Luke's two writings, Judas of James; and in John, simply Judas.[1] It is, however, possible to harmonize these differences. Libbai or Taddai, the man of heart or of strength, the courageous man, could be one and the same person, and he could also be identical with Judas, being in the one case mentioned by a surname such as the Jewish teachers were fond of, and in the other case by his personal name.[2] It is intelligible that the by-name, being arbitrary and passing gradually into use, might have varied slightly, as in the case of Simon, whom the apostolic Church called the Rock, sometimes using the Hebrew word and sometimes the Greek, Kephas or Petros. It is further intelligible, that it would be found desirable to distinguish this Judas from another Judas, Judas Iscariot, not merely by calling the former Judas the son of James, but also by the use of a surname. The earlier tradi-

[1] John xiv. 22.

[2] Matthew has, according to the critical text, only the one, Mark the other. Fondness for surnames, Schöttgen, p. 242. Lebbæus (from leb, libba, heart) does not elsewhere occur; on the other hand, Tadai, ben Tadai, Lightfoot, 313. A relation between the two names cannot be arrived at (as De Wette and Meyer rightly see) from the word shad (Talm. tad) = suckling breast; but rather from the word shod (shadad, to be strong), comp. Todah (Jesus' disciple, in the Talmud), above, Vol. I. p. 23. The word is certainly not to be derived from the related shaddai (Ebrard), for the divine name was inapproachable. Lightfoot erroneously assumed a variation of the name Judas; and in Lebbæus a derivation from a non-existing town Lebba, near Carmel (Jebba, Pliny, 5, 17). Judas of James cannot be made a brother of James, however much Winer may wish it; it signifies here, as elsewhere, *son* (Meyer); moreover, this Judas is not placed with James of Alphæus in either Luke or the Acts, and Matt. xxvii. 56 shows that James and Joses were placed together, but not James and Judas. Of the various hypotheses concerning these three names, only the following need here be mentioned. Schleiermacher (*Luk.* p. 88; *L. J.* p. 369) believed in a change of the disciples either by death or removal from the ranks; Ewald (p. 399) held a similar view, viz., that Judas took the place of Lebbæus (named Thadd.); but Strauss (I. p. 631) thought of a different tradition.

tion in Matthew and Mark had, then, the name customarily employed in the time of Jesus; the later tradition in Luke and John, the name used in the apostolic time after the apostasy of the second Judas. The identity of the person can be almost demonstrated: John introduces a disciple under the name of Judas, but by representing him as proposing to Jesus the bold inquiry of one who thirsts for action—"How is it that thou wilt reveal thyself unto us and not unto the world?"—he has in reality at the same time given him the characteristic of Libbai.[1] An instance in which John's Gospel exhibits disagreement as to a name with the earlier Gospels, is of less importance. The quadruple report of the earlier sources is not to be rejected in favour of the different reading of a single later one; but the divergence of the later is also not incapable of being brought into harmony with the earlier lists. Where the latter, for instance, mention Bartholomew, John has a Nathanael; and where they (in the Gospels) thrice place him sixth, Philip being fifth, John has in the same numerical positions, Philip and Nathanael. From this it is probable that Bartholomew and Nathanael are the same Apostle.[2] This doubling of the individual is intelligible from the fact that Bar Talmai, the son of Talmai, is merely a naming after the father, while Nathanael is either a personal name or a surname, and the same man might be called this or that, just as the first of the Apostles was called sometimes Simon, sometimes Kephas or Petros, and sometimes also Bar Jochanan.[3] It is, finally, intelligible that John should

[1] John xiv. 22.

[2] Hilg. (*Ev. u. Briefe Joh.* p. 271; *Ev.* p. 244) considers Nathanael to be Matthew (see above, p. 272, note 2); and in *Nov. Test. ex. Can.* IV. p. 105, as Matthias. Späth, however, in a detailed essay on Nathanael, in Hilg.'s *Zeitschrift*, 1868, would identify Nathanael with John. But the ingenious attempt is not convincing, as both Ewald and Hilg. have seen: for, apart from John xxi. 2, the first chapter of John shows—quite contrary to this writer's manner of giving to John the preference to Peter—that Nathanael was sixth in the series of disciples. That the name Nathanael (not only Elnathan) was common among the Jews, and therefore was no mere arbitrary invention of the author's, is strongly against Späth.

[3] The name Talmai (telem, furrow), rich in furrows, rich husbandman (comp. Aretas, ploughman), stands repeatedly in the Old Test. as a proper name, 2 Sam. iii. 3,

give the preference to the name Nathanael. He was accustomed to look for mysterious allusions in names; and to him this name meant, "God has given it." He had this signification of the word in view when he represented Nathanael as going to Jesus of his own accord, though in truth moved thereto by God, and Jesus as hailing in him a pearl, a true Israelite with a pure heart; and further, when he represented Jesus as later repeatedly saying that no one could come to him unless the Father drew him, unless the Father gave him. It is even possible to go further, and to suppose that Bartholomew did not bear this name at all, but that John invented it as an appropriate designation for him, or as a befitting name by which to characterize the calls of Jesus in general. This opinion, definitely proposed by Hilgenfeld and Späth, cannot be strongly supported; and the supposition in favour of which the same writers have argued very acutely, viz., that the Nathanael of John was in reality Matthew or Matthias, or indeed John, the son of Zebedee —is untenable. With greater probability, it might be asserted that he was none other than Simon the Cananæan.[1]

xiii. 37, &c. Volkmar (p. 252), without giving any authority, translates it, Brother-in-law's son! Josephus thrice gives Tholomæus, *Ant.* 7, 1, 4; 14, 8, 1; 20, 1, 1. The Septuagint gives Tholmî. The name is peculiar to kings and robber-chiefs. The Talmud has bar Talmiah, but also bar Talmion (Schöttgen, p. 95), which latter is connected rather with Thalmon (the oppressed, a proper name in Ezra ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45). With Ptolemæus (Renan, p. 152, and also Winer and Hausr.), the word has nothing to do, notwithstanding *B. J.* 1, 9, 3, *Ant.* 14, 8, 1 (Winer). The last passage is decisive, although in the Talmud (Bux. 2598) Tolmai stands for the Ptolemies. Nathanael (Hebr. Nethan(e)el), John i. 46 sqq., xxi. 2. The name of kings' sons, chief priests, Levites, Num. i. 8, ii. 5; 1 Chr. ii. 14, xxiv. 6; 2 Chr. xvii. 7, xxxv. 9; 3 Ezra [1 Esdras] i. 9; Jos. *Ant.* 6, 8, 1. The identity of Bartholomew and Nathanael (also Bleek, I. p. 415) was held in the Church, but denied by Augustine and Gregory the Great (Stichart, p. 35). Strauss (I. p. 631) explained this as a fiction of the harmonists. Schleier. also was sceptical, and held it questionable whether Nathanael was an Apostle. Augustine thought he was no Apostle, because of his learning. But comp. the following note.

[1] Simon the Zealot (comp. also Hilg., *Ev.* p. 244) may be thought of because Nathanael is said to have come from Cana (John xxi. 2), an assertion which may have been based on a misunderstanding of the above-mentioned title of Simon; and further, because the character indicated in John i. 47 sqq., would be appropriate to Simon the Zealot, especially in contrast with Iscariot, with whom he stands paired.

In the order in which the names of the Apostles are arranged, the differences are greater. It is at once noticeable that in the first six, Matthew and Luke, and again Mark and the Acts of the Apostles, in the main agree; in the second six, Matthew and Mark on the one hand, and Luke in his two writings on the other.[1] On the whole, there are many points of agreement in the several lists. Four Apostles have the same place in all: Simon Peter the first, Philip the fifth, James the ninth, and Judas Iscariot the twelfth. Indeed, the whole of the first six stand generally beyond question and above controversy.[2] There has been here only the minor question of etiquette, whether Andrew should be placed as second next to his brother Simon, or as fourth after the favourite disciples Simon, James, and John; Mark and the Acts have decided for the latter, Matthew and Luke for the former. On the sixth name, the Gospels are quite unanimous, all giving it as Bartholomew; it is not until we come to the Acts that we find Bartholomew placed after Thomas. In the second six, there is certainly a somewhat sharper struggle for the right of precedence; we can understand this, since these are all later added and less important disciples. As, however, here also the ninth and twelfth places are definitively occupied, the struggle turns upon the possession of the seventh and eighth, and the tenth and eleventh places, not four Apostles contending with each other, but one pair for the former two places, and another pair for the latter two. The seventh and eighth places are occupied by Thomas and Matthew, in the first Gospel Thomas occupying the seventh place, while in the Acts

[1]

Matthew.	Luke.	Acts.	Mark.
Simon, Andrew.	Simon, Andrew.	Peter, John.	Simon, James.
James, John.	James, John.	James, Andrew.	John, Andrew.
Philip, Bartholomew.	Philip, Bartholomew.	Philip, Thomas.	Philip, Bartholomew.
Thomas, Matthew.	Matthew, Thomas.	Bartholomew, Matthew.	Matthew, Thomas.
James, Lebbæus.	James, Simon.	James, Simon.	James, Thaddæus.
Simon, Iscariot.	Judas of James, Iscariot.	Judas of James, Iscariot.	Simon, Iscariot.

[2] This also (John's Gospel being added to the lists, making five catalogues) speaks against the assertion of Volkmar's, that all except the three were only zealous Christians. Schenkel, *Bibel-Lex.* III. p. 276, in an inconceivable manner passing over the sons of Zebedee, gives the order in John's Gospel as, Andrew, Simon, Philip, Nathanael.

he is placed still earlier, in the sixth place; in Luke and Mark, Matthew has the precedence. Judas of James (Lebbæus) and Simon the Zealot are tenth and eleventh, the former having the precedence in Matthew and Mark, the latter in Luke's two writings. The ground of the order and of the differences of arrangement is not immediately evident. It can hardly be that Jesus himself fixed the precise positions, or that the later Church simply handed down, with slight alterations, the tradition derived from Jesus. The arrangement was deliberately made at a later period, and was certainly no merely arbitrary one, but was based upon facts. The facts, however, which supplied the points of view were evidently varied in character. The precedence was given to the earliest disciples: thus the two pair of brothers filled the first four places. Again, the preference was given to those who were on the most intimate terms with Jesus: thus, contrary to the first principle, in Mark and the Acts Andrew was put lower down, and James and John were raised to the second and third places. Finally, from another point of view, Judas Iscariot as the unworthy one, as a traitor to his apostolic vocation, was placed last. The differences arose from a blending of these various points of view, and perhaps partly also from a complete uncertainty with regard to several of the Apostles. From the blending of those points of view, it follows also that it is no longer possible for us to restore an absolutely certain order of the disciples, whether according to the date of their discipleship or according to their intimacy with Jesus. It is only of the position of the first four—who are, in reality, of chief importance—that we have any certain knowledge, viz., that in their case priority of discipleship and the closest intimacy with Jesus were both to be found. As to the rest, it is at least probable that the date of discipleship mainly decided the position in the list of the Apostles. This view is at once in itself genuinely Jewish and early Christian; it explains the position of the first four, of Andrew in particular, and perhaps also of Matthew; it is suggested by the latest controver-

sies of the disciples; and it is strongly supported by the consideration that, on account of the exclusive position which the relation of favourite disciples would give to Peter and the sons of Zebedee, the rest would stand more nearly on a level with each other, or would be distinguished merely by the different date of their call, with the exception of the twelfth, who, and indeed he alone, would have his place determined by the third point of view.[1] Again, from these facts it may be inferred with probability that the Apostles were to a great extent chosen from the number of those who were early called; individuals—as perhaps the publican Levi—might belong to a later date, but on the whole Jesus would naturally give the preference to those who, on account of their longer and more intimate intercourse with him, were best known to him, and were the best qualified.

This band of Apostles demands some attention at our hands, even though it plays but an unimportant rôle in the history of the life of Jesus, and only after his death comes independently into notice, and even then not very strikingly. Nevertheless, Jesus placed his trust, his hope, in these men and youths; he found in them his personal support while travelling the rough road which lay before him; and, in his own words, we may call them specially blessed, because they were able to see and to hear the highest to the end. The individuals can be easily confounded for the very reason that the wealth of names—among which ten are Jewish and two Greek—is not great.[2] For as three names are repeated, half the disciples could be distinguished one from the other only by the name of father, brother, or town, by a byname, or by the right of seniority. The most

[1] Matthew comes under our notice only when he is regarded (see above, p. 266) as the, in Matt. ix. 9 (identical with Levi), publican who was admitted among the disciples. On this identification, however, the position of Matthew probably depends, not only in the first Gospel, but also in the other catalogues. Controversy among the disciples, Matt. xix. 27, xx. 1 sqq.

[2] Andrew and Philip are Greek (both names also in Josephus), as is also the cognomen Peter, which, however, does not here come under notice. Paulus attempted to explain Andrew from the Hebrew, aph. from nadar, vovere fecit!

important, certainly, make themselves prominent. Simon the son of John, the afterwards-named Peter, is confounded by no one with Simon the Zealot; James the son of Zebedee, no one mistakes for James the Less. The leadership of Simon Peter in the catalogue of the Apostles is even to-day recognized as based on something more than indefensible pretension: he is the first of the Apostles by his call and by his actions, indeed by his actions during the life-time of Jesus, and not first in the apostolic period, nor by a violent transference of the relations of the apostolic period to the time of Jesus.[1] The mental peculiarity of Peter, as reflected in the facts of both these sets of relationships, was an eminent susceptibility to higher impressions to which he yielded up his whole nature, his emotions and his will; and, in addition to that susceptibility, Peter possessed an unmistakable, brilliant and rapid capacity of seeing things correctly with an easy and quick glance, of arriving as by divination at a right understanding. At the same time, it is true that notwithstanding all his keen presentiment, his unriddling, his comprehension, of the nature and thoughts of Jesus, notwithstanding all his quickness to discover and his eagerness to follow the signs of the times, and to undertake the tasks they imposed, he was incapable of really acute and logical thought, and he had no tenacity of will. In this combination of strength and weakness—which is not, with Holsten in his otherwise noteworthy criticism, to be referred to strong excitation of feeling side by side with feeble powers of thought—Peter was, indeed, the most genuine of all the Galileans who were with Jesus. He was peculiarly fitted to become a favourite of Jesus, whom like a perfect mirror he reflected, whose mental flashes were reproduced in him, whose heroic step found in him the most sympathetic accompaniment, whose whole nature turned to him as to its most congenial home, and yet found in him, just at the most important moment, only a brittle reed instead of a firm support which Jesus might

[1] Matt. x. 2: the *first*, Simon. Yet Fritzsche, on Matt. (p. 358), would have this to be "accidental."

use when not able to stand alone.[1] Peter was destined to occupy a similar position in the first Christian community, the appointed leader of the apostolic period, as a prompt, ready, resolute speaker of the moment, and as a man of correct divination at great critical points; and yet, even after the strengthening of his moral force of will, he was no sure leader, because he stood still at half-way in his thought and purpose, and was no match for Paul, the new Apostle of mind, the innovator, either in authority, or in resistance, or in the winning of adherents.

Somewhat different were the qualifications of the sons of Zebedee, James and John, the pair of brothers who can be separated only by their difference in age, and perhaps in the degree, though not in the character, of their dominant mental tendency. For in both James had the precedence, only, as an early called-for sacrifice to Jewish anger, to make room for John.[2] The sons of Zebedee were the complement to Peter. To them, also, was not wanting a quick sensibility to new ideas which they enthusiastically and fancifully shaped for themselves; and they too cherished a tender attachment to Jesus, which, however, as little as in Peter's case excluded altogether a certain naive and unconscious egoism. But their strongest side was energy of will, a choleric and percussive resistance to obstacles, a characteristic which on an unknown occasion gained for them from Jesus the title of "Sons of Thunder." They were marked by a desire to do their work completely when destroying or building up; by a persistent adherence to their own principles even against Jesus, and still more in apostolic times, when James was the strongest sympathizer with Judaism, and John remained nearer than Peter to James, the brother of the Lord, the prince of the Church and the assailant of Paulinism.[3] Andrew, though

[1] Holsten, *Evang. des Paulus u. Petrus*, 1868, pp. 210 sqq.

[2] Comp. above, p. 262. Acts xii. 1—3.

[3] See Matt. xx. 20 sqq.; Luke ix. 49; Mark iii. 17, ix. 38; Acts xii. 2; Galat. ii. 9 (Acts xv.). Boanerges, good Hebrew bene regesh (noise, noisy multitude; Syr. and Arab. thunder). The Sh'va, also a full vowel in the Jewish popular pronunciation = oa; at the present time noabijm = nebijm; comp. Masada, in Strab. 12, 2:

brother of Peter and the second disciple called, stands quite in the rear of these three. He is never spoken of except in the latest two Gospels, which attempt in a number of ways to secure to him the fourth place, to which externally he had a double claim. Thus in Mark he appears as fourth in the number of the intimate disciples to whom Jesus in Jerusalem reveals the future; and in John he is repeatedly one of the narrower circle of six.[1] In truth, the only narrower circle was that of the three, Peter, James, and John, in comparison with whom all the others retired into a second rank. There is nothing more remarkable than this exclusive community of trust, love, and mutual understanding which, at least gradually, grew up by the side of the comparatively wider society of disciples, and in which Jesus, combining the characteristics of weaker and one-sided natures, found himself, his emotions, his thoughts, his purposes, repeated in a more youthful shape, and in which indeed he often, by impelling his favourites to talk, attempted to listen to himself, his task, his mission, not without the danger—which, however, in the critical moment he always overcame—of sacrificing, surprised and irresolute, his own purpose to the impression which he found existing among them.[2] It was these three friends whom, according to the tradition of all the earlier Gospels, he took with him alone upon the mount of transfiguration, according to Matthew and Mark to Gethsemane, and according to Luke and Mark to the resurrection of Jairus' daughter. It was these also to whom Jesus permitted not only the most familiar utterances, but also the most affectionate demeanour and the grasp of the hand.[3] The first of the three is always Peter, the

Moasada. Lightfoot, p. 439 (Beza wanted Benerges). The name is not to be derived, as the ancients derived it, from eloquence, but from storming (only not exactly with Gurlitt, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, p. 715, implying censure), comp. Luke ix. 49. Mark iii. 17 gives the surnames alone, but as little as in the case of Peter on the right occasion. On the name Zebedee, see also LXX., 1 Chron. ii. 14 (but not Esr. x. 15).

[1] Mark xiii. 3. John i. 40, 44, brings Andrew into the front rank at the cost of Peter. In vi. 5, 8, xii. 22, he is paired with Philip.

[2] Matt. xvi. 13—17, 22 sq.

[3] Matt. xvi. 22; comp. John xiii. 23.

second as a rule James. In the later Gospels of Luke and John, partly also in that of Mark, the second son of Zebedee begins to acquire greater importance than the first, who was so early withdrawn from history; John is here placed before James, or mentioned alone, or with only Peter is commissioned to engage the room for the evening meal.[1] Indeed, in the fourth Gospel he begins to rise above Peter, much as not only the history, but particularly his temperament—less in sympathy with the milder manner of Jesus—precluded him from coming to the front. It is true that Peter's position cannot be entirely torn away from him. He cannot be robbed either of his call at the beginning of Jesus' ministry, or of his confession in the middle, or of his prominent participation in the catastrophe at Jerusalem. But from the beginning to the end, that mysterious bosom disciple "whom Jesus (the bosom Son of God) loved," and who is in fact no other than John, has taken from Peter the first place in the call, in faith, in following Jesus till his death, in intimacy and in promise.[2] This characteristic of the narration is certainly as repulsive as it is unhistorical, and is explained only by the desire of the fourth Evangelist to name for his new and daring Gospel a voucher who, by his position of intimacy with Jesus, was qualified to make known a higher truth than that taught by Peter or the already existing Gospel.

Concerning the other Apostles, we have in the older Gospels and in the Acts not much more than their names. The fourth Gospel, however, not to speak of the apocryphal writings, in its

[1] See above, p. 262, note 4. Then not Luke v. 10, vi. 14, but viii. 51, ix. 49, xxii. 8. In Mark, James generally has the precedence, iii. 17, v. 37, ix. 2, x. 35, 41, xiii. 3, 13; only ix. 38 mentions John alone. In John's Gospel, nothing certain can be gathered from i. 40, but everywhere else in the Gospel it is not James who is the bosom friend (xiii. 23); therefore here probably it is also John who is the first, and not James who has been silenced by death.

[2] John i. 40 sqq., vi. 68, xiii. 6, xviii. 15 sqq., xx. 2 sqq., xxi. 1 sqq. But Peter is placed in the background already in i. 40, vi. 20, xiii. 23, xviii. 10, 15, 16, 25, &c. Comp. the detailed references in Credner, *Einl.* p. 209, and Scholten, John i.—iv. That Späth incorrectly regarded Nathanael as the favourite disciple of the fourth Gospel, see above, p. 381, note 2.

clever style gives a number of details which would be eagerly accepted but for the distrust that is felt towards the free and—which is of most consequence—freely painting Gospel. We have already seen its great arbitrariness in giving the calls of the Apostles, from Andrew to Nathanael. The assertions concerning the rest of the Apostles exhibit also a general indefiniteness of conception: these Apostles and their detailed pictures are present to the Evangelist only to serve as foils to the greatness of Jesus, and in that respect are a general type of all disciples. There is a continual repetition of two things, with a variation of these two things: the Apostles either, with God-inspired presentiment, pay homage to the greatness of Jesus, as in the first chapter, or—not without contradiction to their first bravery—they show by human, earthly narrowness and foolishness, how little they are, how great he is; and thus the Gospel continues to the end.[1] Hence we prefer to remain by the mere names given in the earlier Gospels, and will introduce only in passing what the latest Gospel may here and there offer that is new. For what is known concerning Philip, Bartholomew or Nathanael, and Matthew, the reader is referred to the foregoing pages.[2] The seventh, Thomas, specially called the Twin from his birth, therefore a Greek Didymos, a Latin Gemellus, Hebrew Teom, Aramaic Toma, is repeatedly referred to with predilection by the fourth Gospel, naturally as one who is entangled in his material views, but also in a higher manner as a realistic calculator, and as characterized by an irritable melancholy with reference to the ways of Jesus, whose death he prophesies, whose being alive he does not believe until it is demonstrated, but whose fall he as an adherent and a disciple is resolved to share.[3] These

[1] Comp. John i. 40 sqq., vi. 68; but also ii. 22, vi. 5, 8, xi. 8 sqq., xiii. 6 sqq. xiv. 8. It is partly the antithesis of inspired and human, and partly that of the divine Jesus and the man with human limitations, comp. viii. 23.

[2] Philip as a little-minded calculator, John vi. 5; as introducer of the Hellenes, xii. 21, where, certainly, but not before, he is confounded with the deacon Philip of the Acts.

[3] John xi. 16, xiv. 5, xx. 24—29, xxi. 2. Thoma (Teom with Aram. article) expressly called twin by John's Gospel, regarded by Volkmar (p. 253), on account of

facts do not belong to the actual history, and the special point of light in his existence, readiness for self-sacrifice, is borrowed from Peter or from all the Apostles. The ninth according to Matthew, James the less or the younger, retreating far behind his fellow-apostle that bears the same name, the son of Zebedee, is better known through his father and mother, Clopas and Mary the adherent of Jesus, than through himself. His kinship to Jesus has been already rejected in an earlier part of this volume.[1] The tenth and eleventh, Judas the son—not the brother—of James, the courageous (Lebbæus, Thaddæus), and Simon Cananæus or the Zealot, erroneously given by Matthew and Mark as the Canaanite or as coming from the Gentile borderland, are shown by their cognomens to be of choleric disposition, similarly constituted to the sons of Zebedee, the first, however, brave rather by nature, and the second in principles which he possibly learned from the radical school of the Pharisees, Judas the Galilean and Zadok.[2] The fourth Gospel shows both—nature and principle—in a certain measure fused together in the person of Judas: it is he who asks Jesus why he reveals himself to the disciples and not to the world, and who therefore has the courage to wish for an energetic external Messianic manifestation.[3] This

John xx. 24, as a representative of Docetic Gnosticism. In truth, he represents the direct opposite. Pressensé (p. 434) thinks Thomas resembles Peter.

[1] See above, p. 276. Alphæus and Clopas, Cleopas (Luke xxiv. 18; John xix. 25) is the same name pronounced softer or harder; comp. Lightfoot, pp. 59, 756. Winer would derive Cleopas (Luke xxiv.) from Cleopatros. Probably Aram. Chalpai (Lightfoot, Chalpi), from Cheleph, town in Naphtali, Joshua xix. 33; or appellative, exchange, representative, perhaps as posthumous son. Kelappa, kulpa, hammer, not to be thought of.

[2] Καναναῖος, Matt. x. 4 (later reading -ίτης); Mark iii. 18. In Matt. one sees slight difference between the pronunciation of this word and that of Χαναναῖος, xv. 22 (thus also LXX.). The name cannot be derived from the town Cana, see above, p. 382, note 1; comp. John xxi. 2. In Luke vi. 15 and Acts i. 13, rightly called Zealot. This suggests the Hebr. adjective kanna, Talm. also kannai, kanan, kananit (zeal and the jealous, Bux. 2060 sq.) = zealous, whence kanani. Comp. Ex. xx. 5 (God, ζηλωτὴς); Num. xxv. 11 (Phinehas). Jos. *B. J.* 4, 3, 9 (zealots in Jewish War). Paul, Gal. i. 14; Jesus himself, John ii. 17. Venturini, Grätz, and Renan, have also thought of an earlier intercourse of Simon with Judas the Galilean. Ewald (p. 399) prefers to regard him as a Pharisaic zealot.

[3] John xiv. 22.

trait of character is not inaptly inferred, whether the inference be made from the name itself or from the proximity of Judas of Keriot, who also seriously missed the material Messiah; but it was, however, not peculiar to Judas, for all the disciples really entertained similar sentiments, and according to the fourth Gospel, this was specially the case with the brothers of Jesus.[1] The close of this history will delineate the character of the remarkable twelfth Apostle, also a Judas, distinguished from the former one as the man of Kerijot (Ish-Kerijot, Iscariot), a town in the north of the tribe of Judah; he was doubtless thus designated because he or his father had migrated thence into Galilee.[2] From the beginning, the Gospels point more or less distinctly to the future black deed of this Apostle, Matthew and Mark simply mentioning the fact, Luke anticipating it as something afterwards accomplished, John at once loftily and anxiously referring to Jesus' knowledge of it from the first.[3] This representation of John's Gospel is, as we have already shown, a mere fabrication, since it is impossible that Jesus could have chosen his betrayer and murderer to be not only a disciple but also an Apostle. Hence, in the selection of Judas, we rather see the human limitation of the knowledge of Jesus — a limitation that John's Gospel is anxious to ignore altogether—the tentative, and at the same time affectionate and grandly credulous search in which Jesus, himself great, assumed rather too much than too little greatness also in others. In consequence of this limitation, Jesus, in the midst of the most brilliant justifications of his choice, was not saved from mistakes and disappointments, as in

[1] Luke xix. 11; Acts i. 6; John vii. 3.

[2] Generally Keriot is sought in the south of the tribe (thus Renan, p. 153), according to Joshua xv. 25. Ewald prefers, on account of its proximity, the town Kartah in Zebulun (Joshua xxi. 34, comp. also Kartan in Naphtali, ib. xxi. 32). But the form of the word contradicts all this. For the correct explanation, see above, p. 276. Suggestive derivation by Lightfoot, p. 313 (also De Wette), from sekorthia, askorthia (Bux. 1543), tanner's apron (in connection with which he recalls the money-bag of the fourth Gospel); or from askara, Bux. 1479, strangling. Paulus even suggests shekrijut (sheker, a lie)!

[3] Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 19; Luke vi. 16; John vi. 70 sq.

the case of Judas, and also of the weaker Apostles and of the weaknesses of all the Apostles, the greatest of whom, Peter, is shown by history to have been a less man than Paul, the Apostle by the grace of God.[1]

C.—The Mission of the Twelve.

To these Apostles, then, whom he had selected, Jesus is said to have given an address containing a number of instructions before they started on their first missionary journey, which began at Capernaum, and by no means, as Mark would not unskilfully make it appear, from Nazara. The subject-matter and bearing of this address can be discovered only in a circuitous way.[2] Matthew gives an exceedingly copious address, in which Jesus discloses to the disciples what they have to do, what they must expect, their consolation, and their reward.[3] But we soon find reason to suspect that the Evangelist has, in this address as in so many other instances, brought together everything which Jesus imparted to his disciples at different times during his whole ministry even up to the last days.[4] In fact, the Evangel-

[1] On Judas, more details in the history of the Passion. Against self-deceptions on the part of Jesus, not only has Schleiermacher (p. 371) spoken, who preferred to question the very appointment of the Apostles; but also Weisse (p. 396), and Ewald (p. 393).

[2] Matt. x. 5—42; Luke ix. 3—5; Mark vi. 8—11. The departure from Capernaum is plainly presupposed in Matt. x. 9 sq. Luke expressly connects the missionary address with Capernaum (close of the four great miracles—storm, Gadarene, Jairus, woman with issue of blood). But Mark here interpolates the synagogue scene at Nazara; and indeed it appears appropriate that Jesus, in the midst of his great mission on the border of the plain of Jezreel, and yet more as a sequence to the discomfiture at Nazara, should redouble his efforts. But, on the other hand, see Mark vi. 8, 14, and still more vi. 30, where Jesus appears to be resting at Capernaum (v. 43) rather than engaged in his mission! And even if there were not this difficulty, who would rely upon Mark's interpolation?

[3] The address can be thus divided: (1) The commission, vers. 5—15; (2) what they would meet with, 16—23; (3) their consolation, 24—33; (4) the time of division, and their prospects, 34—42.

[4] That the address in Matthew is an artificial composition, was admitted not only by Schleier., Schultz, Sieffert, Holtzm., Meyer, and others; but also by Olsh., Kern, Tholuck, Strauss, De Wette, and Bleek; at the same time, the latter party were in

ist gives only this one missionary address, no second, nor third. In fact, also, its subject-matter points to a great deal that belongs to a much later period. The gloomy views, which are expressed as early as verse 16, the comparison of the disciples to sheep that are going among wolves, the reference to the variance which Jesus would bring upon earth, to the family divisions and the persecution which he would occasion, to the general hatred, to the ill-treatment in the synagogues, to the indictments before governors and kings, to the cross and capital punishment, and finally the stern and severe threats against those who resist,—all this is too evidently inconsistent with the essentially kindly and joyous disposition to which the mission owed its origin, and shows instead the physiognomy of the later sanguinary struggles and of the last farewell address. Indeed, the latter part of the address refers to times when Jesus was no longer upon earth, when the Apostles, standing as his successors before the mighty ones of the world, are thrown upon their own resources and upon the help of God, and when Jesus, returning, recognizes his own before the divine judgment-seat. Persons who find everything possible would do well here to reflect whether Jesus, even if he already knew all that lay hidden in the womb of time, would or could at the very outset disclose all to his beginners, whom he in other respects guided so circumspectly and so wisely. The force of this consideration will be materially strengthened by observing that Matthew himself reports utterances in this spirit and in this form at much later periods; and that the connection, which Hilgenfeld finds so good, is on the whole weak and obscure, and is disfigured by repetitions. Moreover, Luke and Mark—not to speak of Paul, who gives only one sentence of the missionary address—limit the address to the

doubt as to x. 16 and the rest. Comp. Tholuck, *Bergpredigt;* Strauss, I. p. 653; Meyer on Matt. x.; Bleek, I. pp. 408 sqq. From not regarding its artificial construction, Hilgenfeld has arrived at the incorrect conclusion that the address, which he—without troubling himself about Luke and Mark—regards as an actual unity, should rightly be placed after Matt. xxiii., and is placed too early by the second hand, i.e. the Evangelist.

opening passages in Matthew, to vers. 5—15.[1] It may, indeed, be assumed that Luke had before him the address in Matthew in essentially its present extent, and that he converted it into his artificially constructed address to the Seventy: yet it is striking that he finds places for many of its passages in later addresses to the disciples or to the people, that he exhibits a second and later missionary address to the Twelve, and that the boundary of his first missionary address harmonizes with that boundary of the address of Matthew which must, for reasons based on fact, be separated from what happened later. It may, accordingly, be assumed with probability that Luke, and Mark who resembles him, were in possession of sources in which the first address of instruction had the given shorter form, while the other passages occupied the more or less independent and looser positions which are suggested by the visible traces of Matthew's work of arrangement.[2] This shorter form, in fact a real elementary set of pre-

[1] Comp. Matt. xxiv. 9, 13. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 14 (Matt. x. 10; Luke x. 7). Ver. 15 in Matt., although also represented in Luke x. 12, is evidently an addition drawn by the author from a later situation (Matt. xi. 24).

[2] While Tholuck still thinks that many passages in Matt. x. may be regarded as transferred from Luke x., from the address to the Seventy, since Baur's criticism the verdict concerning Luke has been essentially reversed, and the most recent partizans of Luke have not altered it. The parallel passages in Luke are: (1) Luke vi. 12—16, 40 (Sermon on the Mount); (2) ix. 1—6 (sending forth the Twelve); (3) x. 1—12, 16, 17 (sending forth the Seventy); (4) xii. 2—12 (fresh instruction = Matt. x. 26—33); (5) xii. 49—53 (fresh instruction = Matt. x. 34—36); (6) xiv. 26 sq. (= Matt. x. 37 sq.); (7) xxi. 12—19 (eschatological = Matt. x. 17—20, 30, 39; comp. also Luke xii. 11 sq.). The address to the Seventy in Luke plainly betrays an acquaintance with Matt. x., comp. Luke x. 2 and Matt. ix. 37; Luke x. 3 and Matt. x. 16; Luke x. 5 and Matt. x. 12; Luke x. 7 and Matt. x. 9; Luke x. 12 and Matt. x. 15; Luke x. 16, Matt. x. 40. The parallel passages in Mark are: (1) Mark iii. 13—19 (election); (2) vi. 7—13, 30 (mission); (3) xiii. 9—13 (eschatological = Matt. x. 17—22); (4 and 5) minor parallels, iv. 22, ix. 41. The distinct parts in Matthew's address can easily be separated on comparison with Luke and Mark: (1) The original missionary address, Matt. x. 1—14 (15); (2) eschatological, x. 16—23; (3) fresh instruction, x. 24—33; (4) scattered passages, x. 15 (Luke x. 12), 34—36 (Luke xii. 49), 37 sq. (Luke xiv. 26 sq.), 39 (Luke xvii. 33), 40 (Luke x. 16), 41 sq. (Mark ix. 41). It is easy to perceive that the repetitions and the connecting links in Matthew in this way find an admirable explanation. What the disciples have to expect is twice repeated (vers. 16—23 and 34—38), and so is also their consolation (vers. 24 sqq. and 39 sqq.). Connecting links in Matt. x. 16, 17, 24, 34, 40. And how are vers. 19, 20 adapted for such a purpose? Ver. 26 might be regarded in this light.

cepts for beginners, is thus to be made the basis of the historical account of the sending forth of the Apostles.[1]

This short missionary address is to be found in its purest form in Matthew. For Luke, and almost still more Mark, give the address to the Twelve evidently only in fragments, not once taking the trouble formally to communicate Jesus' utterance concerning the most important matters of all, the preaching of the kingdom and the commission to heal. They also introduce important alterations, particularly with reference to the articles which the disciples were or were not to take with them.[2] The address to the Seventy, moreover, which Luke has composed from the long address in Matthew and from several other sources, is throughout marked by periphrase and party sentiment.[3] Matthew's address gives singly and alone the most important fundamental characteristics of the address of Jesus, the charge to preach to Israel and the watchword which the Apostles were to bear with them like a battle-cry, and finally also the most original form of the charge concerning the journeying and the equipments of the Apostles.

Still full of faith in the intrinsically and exclusively Israelitish character of his ministry, and in view of the faith and need which met him from Israel, Jesus designated to the Twelve their mission-field as being, in the words of the prophet Micaiah the son of Ijmla, "the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" and he forbade their going into either the roads of the Gentiles or the towns of Samaria.[4] It is here quite intelligible why Luke and

[1] Matt. x. 1—14 (15); Luke ix. 2—5 (comp. x. 2—12); Mark vi. 8—11.

[2] Luke ix. 2. Mark gives only a supplementary hint, vi. 12. On what to take with them, see below, pp. 399 sqq. The greater fidelity of Matthew in this province is admitted, from Strauss and De Wette to Tholuck and Holtzmann. See below, p. 401, note 1.

[3] Luke x. 4 (5 sq.), 7—11. To this is attached the denunciation of the Galilean lake-towns, vers. 13—16 (comp. Matt. xi. 20), which at any rate in this only artificially created situation is arbitrarily introduced with an anti-Jewish purpose.

[4] Micaiah, 1 Kings xxii. 17. On the antipathy of the Jews towards the Samaritans, comp. briefly John iv. 9, and the sentiments of contempt of the Samaritans expressed in viii. 48 (certainly under the influence of Gnosticism). Also, Lightfoot, pp. 212 (Sam. est sicut ethnicus!), 314, 614. Bleek, I. p. 418. After the death of Herod

Mark, with their advanced view of the unlimited call of the gospel to the whole world, have suppressed this charge. Indeed, we might ask on what ground Jesus found it necessary to impose these restrictions, since his disciples, who had grown up in strict Jewish views and were moreover restrained by the long-since effected political separation of Samaria and Galilee and the yet more influential mutual hatred—nay, who showed themselves to be actuated by narrow Jewish sentiments at a much later date, after the departure of Jesus,—these disciples would be less likely than their Master to contemplate going into the roads of the Gentiles, and least of all would they be likely to visit Samaria, which lay at a distance of fifteen leagues. Hence it might be thought that Jesus had either never uttered this genuinely Jewish-Christian and anti-Pauline passage, as little as the kindred one, that the disciples "were not to throw their pearls before swine;" or that at any rate he had spoken it at another period.[1] But in point of fact Jesus was anxious early to make clear to his disciples that the sphere of his and their ministry was Israel, the people of God, and to add the temporarily valid limitations so much the rather because at that very time haste and concentration were most necessary, and because the road of the Gentiles at least lay very near to them in Galilee, and the semi-Gentile Tiberias was distant only three leagues from Capernaum.[2] He

the Great, Galilee and Samaria were politically separated, and still more after the deposition of Archælaus, A.D. 7, when Samaria was added to the Roman province. On their arrogance after this time, comp. Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 2, 2; also above, Vol. II. pp. 261 sq., and in a subsequent volume, Jesus' journey to Jerusalem.

[1] According to Weisse (p. 405), this limitation had only a subjective ground. According to Bleek (I. p. 420), it sprang from his personal narrowness and his dread of offending the Jews. According to Ewald (p. 425), the disciples could have been easily seduced to go further! The most recent criticism, on the other hand, regards such utterances either as actual and serious convictions on the part of Jesus, or as anti-Paulinisms of the later Jewish Christians, *e. g.* also Matt. vii. 6, where the same seems to be expressed, only more harshly, with a moral verdict. On this last passage it is to be remarked, however, that the Evangelist does not give it a national reference. See next volume.

[2] See Vol. II. pp. 4, 374. How near lay heathendom on the north, east, and west! Also on the south, in Gadara, Hippos, and Scythopolis. Absolute exclusion of heathendom, not merely provisional, Matt. xv. 24.

did not appoint the separate sphere of labour of each individual: we see in this an instance of his anxiety in great things, of his carelessness in details, but also of the confidence which he reposed in the independent activity of his disciples. It is, however, conceivable that he had only Galilee with its towns and villages in view, for it is evident that his two limitations shut out not only the surrounding heathendom, but also Judæa in the south, the way to which was through the Samaritan towns. In fact, the thought could have occurred to him as little as to the disciples, that his weak beginners should enter Judæa or the metropolis: this would have been to dissipate and to waste the forces which found their support in union and in his powerful proximity, and to lay upon the disciples that most difficult work of all from which he himself still kept aloof, and to which he had finally to sacrifice himself.[1]

The preaching which he committed to them was the old baptism cry and his own initial cry, The kingdom of heaven is at hand! It is significant that he did not go beyond this cry, although his ministry had so far advanced that he could soon after speak of a kingdom and of a person both of which had already come. He retained the watchword of the whole movement of the time, a watchword the efficiency and intelligibility of which had been tested, which represented a principle, derived its power from its uniformity and its persistence, and finally was necessarily the first seed to be sown in the newly trodden mission-fields until the more fully developed truth should ripen on the well-cultivated soil. Even Luke, if not also Mark, has in a certain measure and slightly indicated this cry of the kingdom; and in the sending forth of the Seventy he has come still closer to the truth, only he has transformed the temporal nearness of the kingdom of heaven into a local one. Mark unexpectedly and by way of supplement gives the correct information when he mentions the repentance cry of the journeying disciples; in fact, the full

[1] Schenkel (p. 116) thinks he sent them towards different districts of the Jewish country.

original formula, as it was heard on the banks of the Jordan, also accompanied the preaching of the disciples of Jesus.[1] The cry of the kingdom is represented as having been supported by the facts in which Jesus himself found the accompaniments and signs of the kingdom of heaven within the sphere of his own ministry, the healing of the infirm and the expulsion of demons. This power of healing he gave to his disciples, perhaps not as a capability newly imparted by some mysterious communication of power, of which the Gospels now speak, nor by an initiation into the manipulations of his own practice of healing, of which Ewald speaks; but he assumed the existence of this power in them already as the fruit of their exercise of faith, though the Gospels tell of no case of healing by the disciples up to this period. He simply asked for the unreserved, full, and disinterested unfolding of this power: "Freely ye have received, freely give!"[3]

The equipment which he prescribed to them is striking. Neither gold nor copper were they to provide for themselves in their girdle; no leathern bag with provision of bread was to be hung about the neck or taken with them on the way; they were to have no second under-garment, no provision of sandals, not even a staff. These articles formed the usual travelling equipment, and many a careless festival-pilgrim took them with him even into the temple.[4] The reason for these prohibitions

[1] Luke ix. 2, x. 9, 11 (comp. xxi. 20); Mark vi. 12. See above, Vol. II. p. 236, Vol. III. pp. 39 sqq., 76, note 1.

[2] Matt. x. 8 has also lepers; the mention of the dead, however, is spurious, and brought in from xi. 1 sqq. Neither Luke nor Mark has this; Mark indeed mentions only demoniacs, but brings in other sick when relating what the disciples effected, vi. 13.

[3] Fully carried out in practice by Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 18, notwithstanding the permission of Jesus, ib. ix. 14.

[4] Baculum, pera, calcei, crumena, Lightfoot, p. 314. Pera coriacea, quam a collo suo appendunt pastores, in qua victualia sua reponunt; comp. the Cynics. Money was sometimes carried in the hollow girdle (comp. Livy, 33, 29: argentum in zonis habentes), sometimes sewn into the clothes, sometimes kept in a money-bag suspended over the back. Lightfoot, *l. c.* The ὑποδ. are sandals (comp. Mark), not, as Lightfoot thought, shoes; on the contrary, according to Mark, sandals were permitted. Also in

is correctly given by Matthew, but unskilfully forgotten or put aside by the others: "The workman is worthy of his food," i. e. food and drink and clothing, even to the replacing of the sandals worn out by travelling, should be given to the Apostles at the houses where they were entertained on their mission.[1] Only the staff seems to have been unconditionally forbidden, therefore not reckoned among the travelling requisites which were to be renewed at the houses of their hosts. This follows from the words of Jesus himself, and also from the utterance in Gethsemane. As preachers of peace, as friends, not foes, of mankind, they were to forego the use of the otherwise so usual staff, and in this respect were to surpass the Essenes, the rural men of peace, who, though they carried no weapons, yet allowed them on a journey and as a protection from robbers.[2] This meaning of the words of Jesus was, however, very early misunderstood. Luke gives currency to the point of view which he probably borrowed from his Ebionite Gospel, viz., that the disciples were to take nothing with them—neither staff, bag, bread, money, purse, second garment, nor sandals—as equipment and travelling luggage, in order to show that they were poor and trusted to the Lord, and to show that they were couriers who—an exaggeration in fact, or at least in words—after the pattern of Gehazi, Elisha's servant, hastening to the resurrection of the son of the Shunammite, were to greet no one by the way.[3] This representation of

the passage quoted by Schöttgen (p. 95), the philosophers are forbidden to wear, not shoes, but gaily-coloured shoes. The two under-garments worn together, Mark vi. 9; comp. above, Vol. II. p. 255 (John).

[1] Mark has quite forgotten the reason; Luke has not put it in the appropriate place, x. 7 (the labourer is worthy of his hire).

[2] Jesus evidently forbids several things altogether—money, bag, staff (in the singular, according to the best-attested reading). Other things in the form of additional provision, thus the two under-garments and sandals. It is necessary here to interpret with judgment, and to think neither of an absolute prohibition of sandals (comp. Acts xii. 8), nor of a supply of staves, which latter seems to be supported by the context, but is impossible from the nature of the case. Comp. Matt. xxvi. 52; Luke xxii. 36. Essenes, see above, Vol. I. p. 378.

[3] Luke ix. 3 and x. 4, finally xxii. 35, where the sandals are spoken of as absolutely lacking; comp. 2 Kings iv. 29. Lightfoot, p. 519 (the pious greet not or in a whisper).

the matter does not commend itself to Mark. He is no friend of naked poverty; and in particular he finds the rejection of a staff and sandals unpractical and unreasonable. A staff was carried by the Rabbis, and Gehazi was furnished with one; and sandals were worn not only by Israel in the exodus from Egypt, but also later by each of the Apostles. Mark, therefore, while he consents to the other prohibitions, particularly that of the second undergarment, and forbids not only gold and silver, but also, like Matthew, every copper coin, nevertheless speaks with great and almost comic definiteness for the permission to take a staff and to wear sandals.[1] Hence we have to thank him that, in the old Christian paintings, the Apostles are seen with great and certainly unhistorical travelling staves.

If we confine ourselves to Matthew, therefore, we find that the command of Jesus, instead of being strange, rather points to the wise arrangement by which he was anxious to regulate the missionary operations of his Apostles, and the wisdom of which he had already verified in his own experience. Instead of seeking to attract mere popular assemblages, instead of drawing together crowds of people eager for signs and miracles of healing, instead of any kind of public demonstration, the disciples were to engage in a quiet and unobtrusive domestic mission; they were to be under the necessity of visiting the homes of the people, they were to bestow continuous attention to the narrowest circle; and, on the other hand, as a bond of union between themselves and the houses of the people, they were to be content with the hospitality of the latter, not indeed as an equivalent payment—which Jesus forbade them to take—but as a reciprocally valuable acknowledgment. If it be asked why Jesus did not provide for any appearance of the Apostles in the synagogues, a sphere of labour which is first mentioned in later addresses, although in

[1] Mark vi. 9, comp. x. 24 (Matt. xix. 24). But the text here should be altered. Even Holtz. (pp. 82 sqq., 145 sqq.) objects to Mark's correction as to staff and sandals; on the contrary, Schenkel (*Bibel-Lex.* III. p. 283) finds the original in Mark. The Rabbis with staff and bag, Lightfoot, p. 444. Volkmar thinks essentially of the exodus from Egypt, Ex. xii. 11.

Matthew it appears, it is true, in connection with the long missionary address, the answer should certainly not assume an already existing breach with the authorities of the synagogues, for of this there is no evidence whatever; but the answer should be based on the point of view of the exclusively domestic character of the preaching: Jesus found a ministry in the houses of the people easier and more practicable for his modest, timid novices, imperfectly trained in the learning of the schools, than one which challenged the attention of the great public, or found its audience in the places consecrated to the worship of God.[1] Entering into the towns and villages, they were first of all to look round them tentatively, in order to discover who was worthy to receive them. Entering into a house, they were to give the salutation of peace; and if the house proved worthy, their peace was to remain therein; they were to begin to preach the kingdom and to heal the sick, and were not to think of changing their house of entertainment until their departure from the place.[2] If the house or place were inhospitable, unworthy, their salutation of peace was to return to them, it was to be withdrawn unfulfilled—nay, they were to leave the neighbourhood, and in the house or in the street shake the dust from their feet as something unclean, contact with which they avoided as they did contact with publicans and Gentiles.[3] It is worth

[1] Renan (p. 293) very justly remarks that at the present time the chief channel of propagandism in the East is the intercourse of hospitality. Matt. x. 17 belongs at any rate to a later period; comp. Luke xxi. 12; Mark xiii. 9.

[2] Shalom lachem, comp. Luke x. 5. This exclamation already in the Old Test., Gen. xliii. 23; Judges xix. 20. Great importance attached to it, Schöttgen, p. 96, from *Vajikr. rabb.* s. 9, f. 153: magna est pax, quippe qua benedict. omnes comprehenduntur. High estimate of hospitality: quic. libenter hospitalitatem exercet, ejus est paradisus. Majus est recipere viatorem, quam apparitionem shechinæ habere. Comp. Schöttgen, p. 108.

[3] Comp. the empty return of the divine word in Is. lv. 11, and the remarkable passage, 1 Kings xxii. 17. The shaking off the dust does not mean the rejection of the very least particle, nor the refusal to accept the hospitable service of washing the feet, but, according to the Jewish way of speaking, the removal of uncleanness. *Tos. ad Kel.* 1: Pulvis Syriæ inquinat æque ac pulvis aliarum regionum ethnicarum. Even the fruits of the earth were avoided on account of heathen dust. Terra ethnica immunda æque ac sepulcretum. Lightfoot, pp. 315 sq.

noting, incidentally, what Jesus considered unclean in the houses. The Jewish scruples troubled him here as little as they did in his works of healing; and the disciples were not to concern themselves with the question whether the house or the food was levitically clean or not. Here his sentiments were quite Pauline, as also in the sending forth of the Seventy in Luke there is to be found a complete accordance with the words of Paul.[1] Uncleanness lies only in the disposition which turns away from the call to the kingdom.

Concerning the course and the results of this mission, as good as nothing is related. The best-attested fact lies concealed in an allusion. The lists of the Apostles exhibit the disciples grouped two and two: the impression is thereby produced that Peter was sent with Andrew, James with John, Philip with Bartholomew, Thomas with Matthew, James the Less with Judas the Courageous, Simon the Zealot with Judas Iscariot.[2] This impression is strengthened when we perceive that the same mode of sending forth is elsewhere taken for granted both on the part of the Baptist and of Jesus; that Luke represents the Seventy as being thus sent forth; and finally, that Mark, either from information or surmise, expressly breaks up the Twelve into parties of two, the mission therefore into six divisions.[3] This arrangement has, of course, nothing to do with a mechanical separation of the two charges to teach and to heal; it has probably also nothing to do with the custom and command of the Scribes, that the wise man should never go without a companion with whom to talk concerning the Law. But this arrangement was for the excellent purpose of easing to the weak their new

[1] Luke x. 7 sq.; 1 Cor. x. 27, par. to the saying of Jesus, ix. 7, 10—14.

[2] Bengel, and also Ewald, Bleek, Meyer, found tres quaterniones. They attempted to show that on that account the first man in the quaternio always had the same place in the catalogues. But the texts do not favour this division; and James, Bartholomew, and Judas, have also fixed places in the sources. Weisse thought, on the other hand, that Jesus sent forth only two at a time, and not all the Twelve.

[3] Luke x. 1; Mark vi. 7. Also Matt. xxi. 1; Luke xxii. 8; Mark xiv. 13. Comp. the Baptist, Luke vii. 19 (in Matt. xi. 2, Tischendorf, *διά*).

sense of independence and their great task; in the absence of the Master it placed side by side disciple and disciple, brother and brother, friend and friend, as mutual helpers and comforters; and it was the complement to that wise and affectionate instruction which sought to spare the apostles everything that was difficult or impossible, as, *e.g.*, the public ministry in the synagogues.[1]

In other respects, the greatest obscurity reigns over this apostolic mission. Matthew, after having given Jesus' address of instruction, proceeds to relate the ministry of Jesus in such a way that the mission of the Apostles entirely vanishes, though the presence of the Apostles with Jesus is certainly not seen throughout a chapter.[2] It is true that Luke is able to report that the disciples went about among the villages, everywhere preaching the gospel and healing, lacking nothing, like the people of Israel in the wilderness.[3] Mark knows more exactly that they preached repentance, cast out many demons, anointed and healed many sick. Their return also is reported, as well as their report of what they said and did; and then the retreat of Jesus with them, which, according to the less robust account of Mark, was specially designed to procure them rest and renovation.[4] A superficial examination might indeed suggest that, according to these Gospels, the Apostles returned to Jesus with the news of the death of the Baptist, and that their ministry drew the attention of the tetrarch Antipas to Jesus.[5] It might still more easily be

[1] *Midr. Ruth in Soh. chad.* f. 61, 1: ispe tibi culpam attrahis, quia neminem tecum (especially in itinere) habes, cum quo de lege div. colloquaris. Schöttgen, p. 89.

[2] At least in xii. 1; and indeed already in xi. 25 the disciples are with Jesus.

[3] Luke ix. 6, 10, xxii. 35; comp. Deut. viii. 3 sq., xxix. 5.

[4] Mark vi. 12 sq., 30 sq. Mark adds to the works (Luke) the report concerning what they had taught. Volkmar on the anointings, see above, p. 184, note 2. The retreat in Mark, see *Gesch. Chr.* xv., note.

[5] Particularly from Mark vi. 30 could this connection be inferred (thus Holtzm., Schenkel, Hausrath); but Mark himself expressly represents Antipas as hearing of the fame of Jesus directly from Jesus himself (vi. 14), and he limits the report brought by the Twelve to their own works and teaching (verse 30).

assumed that Jesus' solemn salutation of the Seventy of Luke on their return from their mission—according to which Jesus saw, among their great works wrought on the possessed, the kingdom of the devil finally overthrown—originally belonged to the report of the mission of the Twelve, which Luke has indeed, at least partially, transferred to the Seventy.[1] But all these suppositions are quite untenable. The salutation of the Seventy, in particular, is of an altogether strangely miraculous and apocryphal nature; and the actual report of the two Gospels concerning the results of and the return from the mission is too plainly the mere completion and finishing touch of the external form to which, after the call, the actual going forth and return could not be allowed to be wanting, but which was altogether without any individual and certain facts. These facts were therefore afterwards prepared and supplied by certain generalities, by great and crudely conceived miraculous cures, and by distortions of earlier narratives. It may thus be with confidence assumed that these two Evangelists—as, indeed, Matthew also proves—were without any information at all concerning the actual mission of the Twelve; and that in truth Matthew, whose account appears so unintelligible and incomplete, deserves to be commended for the candour with which, by his eloquent silence, he has confessed his ignorance of the results of the mission of the Apostles.

This striking fact, however, may suggest a fresh and serious supposition, viz., that there were indeed instructions given by Jesus to his Apostles, but rather for the future than the present, as Paul and Matthew seem to show; but that there was no sending forth, and that the assumed but never actual mission rests only upon a misunderstanding by Luke or Mark of the address of instruction, perhaps of that given by Matthew, or upon the desire to see the subsequent Apostles—whose position there was a wish to raise as high and to make as authoritative as possible—recognized as missionaries in the time of Jesus

[1] Luke x. 17. Hence Renan (p. 295) speaks of a new school of exorcists.

himself.[1] In favour of this, appeal may be made to the fact that the Apostle Paul knew of instructions given by Jesus to the teachers of the gospel, which in the point upon which he laid stress agree with what we have in the Gospels; while, on the other hand, he has said simply nothing about a sending forth before the apostolic period.[2] But, indeed, this silence proves nothing, since, though he has mentioned rules of Jesus for the Apostles, he has not written either a life of Jesus or the lives of the Apostles. Moreover, the difficulty may be explained by supposing that the recollection of these journeyings is obliterated from the Gospels because the results were transient and unimportant, while the detailed recollection of the instructions remained because those instructions had a permanent significance both for Jesus and for the Apostles. At the same time, the Gospels are unanimous in their notice of the fact; and the brevity of that notice, introduced into the earliest account without either pomp or praise, affords the strongest evidence against invention or fictitious glorification of the Apostles. For we cannot help thinking that even the most insignificant and—in comparison with the achievements of the Master—veritably imperceptible expedition would have been more honourable to the Apostles than an empty though most definite and most important commission for the future. Besides, the later and subordinate gift of healing possessed by the Apostles finds its roots in this mission; and Luke, in his Gethsemane narrative, offers an interesting reminiscence by Jesus of the fact, against the historical character of which not much can be said.[3] Stress must be

[1] According to Volkmar (p. 350), Paul wished to be held up by the inventive Pauline writer (Mark) as the type of the ancient disciples! Paul never went without a companion, found his means of subsistence, shook the dust from his feet (Acts xiii. 51, xviii. 6). As if the dust of the Acts of the Apostles were older than that of the Gospels!

[2] 1 Cor. ix. 14.

[3] It is impossible, except by a symbolizing infatuation, to uphold the opinion that Matthew did not intend to describe a sending forth of the Apostles during the lifetime of Jesus. Comp. Matt. ix. 37, x. 1, 5; Luke xxii. 35.

laid, also, on the singular appropriateness of an actual sending forth of the Apostles, partly in relation to Jesus' increasingly rapid operations generally, and to his labours in educating the disciples, and partly in relation to the missionary address itself, the rules of which, as we have seen, are suited, not so much to fully prepared Apostles, as to such practising beginners as the disciples were, and as they again seem to be characterized by the arrangement in pairs in the catalogues.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to escape from the already-mentioned conclusion, that the mission of the Apostles neither extended far nor was of long duration nor was followed by great results; that the Apostles returned to Jesus very speedily, after days rather than weeks, conscious of their feebleness and of the necessity of his presence, very much as subsequently John Mark retreated from his first Pauline mission, or as Peter himself fell back upon Jerusalem from his independent excursions.[1] If Jesus had at this time sent forth his disciples, not simply to practise them, but with a serious view to the extension in Galilee of the movement in connection with the preaching of the kingdom, then certainly the fact is obvious—the inconsistency of which with the assumption of a later period and with the favourable presupposition of Luke and Mark is not to be denied—that he was to a certain extent and in a genuinely human fashion mistaken in his disciples; that he, the great one, had given them, the little ones, credit for more than they possessed. But this human limitation of his insight would be only a confirmation of an earlier fact already noticed in the selection of the Twelve, and also a fine and touching exemplification of his peculiarity of seeking his own equal in men. Notwithstanding recent assertions, it is not to be supposed that Jesus afterwards again sent forth his disciples; for Luke expressly speaks of only one mis-

[1] According to Wieseler, they were sent out for one day; according to Krafft, for several months (Meyer on Matt. 4th ed. p. 230). One is as erroneous as the other; the first is at once excluded by the text. John Mark, Acts xiii. 13, xv. 38. Peter, Acts viii. 14, 25, xi. 2; Gal. ii. 11.

sion.[1] On the one hand, his position became more and more critical—nay, his whole life became one continuous flight, so that he would not be inclined either to expose his disciples or to rob himself of the presence of his most faithful friends. On the other hand, he saw with increasing distinctness that the final decision would lie, not in Galilee, but at Jerusalem. And finally, experience had taught him the necessity of fortifying the inner strength of the disciples by continued intercourse with himself before he required their external ministry, their serious entrance into the ranks of the labourers of the kingdom of heaven.[2]

[1] Luke xxii. 35. Weisse, Ewald, Renan, speak of a frequent sending forth. Weisse thinks that the narrative of the Gospels refers rather to a general fact than to a particular one. Ewald speaks of a number of journeys for practice.

[2] Comp. Matt. x. 16, xiii. 52; Luke vi. 39 sq.

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